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THE

HISTORY

OF

IRELAND.

By JOHN O'DRISCOL.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

JAMES ABERCROMBIE, M. P.

SIR,

IT is an ancient privilege of authors to *dedicate* their works — and I am inclined to think, that, like the privileges of other and greater public characters, it ought to be considered as a trust for the benefit of the Public, which might sometimes be usefully employed, and ought not to be entirely surrendered.

The lighter productions of taste are, with great propriety, frequently dedicated

to private friendship; but graver works, which from their nature might perhaps be considered national, ought to be inscribed with names of public worth.

It is my good fortune to unite the public object and the private purpose. I do no more than record the judgment which the voice of the public has pronounced of Mr. Abercrombie, — as one of the purest of public characters, and one of the truest friends of Ireland — and bear witness that the judgment is true.

Many circumstances concurred to induce me to attempt a brief History of Ireland. Such a work was wanting. The public called for it. Not for a heavy detail of Irish grievances and disasters; but for a clear and distinct outline, drawn without prejudice or favour, of the great events of Irish history. I was solicited by several, whose opinions I valued highly, to undertake such a work. Many might be found whose talents were equal to the task; but there were few, perhaps, whose studies and pursuits had fitted them for

such a labour, — that were placed like myself, as it were, in a central position between the two great parties which divide Ireland — connected with both, and the slave of neither.

I had obtained some reputation for impartiality. The chief object of my humble efforts in literature had always been to suppress faction, and to raise up in its stead one great national interest in Ireland; to root out party spirit; to cultivate national attachments, especially in the gentry of that country; to unite these with the popular feelings; and to bind the whole round the throne and island of Great Britain.

I have reason to know and rejoice, that I have not been entirely unsuccessful in this my favourite object; and I look confidently to the time, as now near at hand, when, the main obstacles which have hitherto impeded every effort for the improvement of Ireland being removed, all those who have honestly laboured in her service may expect to reap a full measure of success.

In the mean time, I have not been wholly without my reward. The mere effort on former occasions to accomplish so much good, though with such inadequate powers, won for me the regard of several of the most excellent persons, and most distinguished names in the empire, and secured to me that friendship which I am on this occasion proud to claim.

I am, dear Sir,

Your very Faithful Servant,

JOHN O'DRISCOL.

London, June 1827.

not sought to remove the dark masses of shade which belonged to the subject, but merely so to dispose them upon the canvass, that they may not obscure, but rather assist in throwing out a vivid and strong delineation of the grand features of the piece.

There is but one History of Ireland deserving the name — that of Mr. Leland. But it is a heavy work, overlaid with the rubbish of barbarous and unimportant details, and disfigured with a degree of prejudice and unfairness still more objectionable. Leland writes like a gentleman and a scholar; but he had no clear views of his subject; and he was unable, or unwilling to disengage himself from the prejudices of the period in which he lived. It is to be feared that the latter was very much the case; for throughout his misrepresentations and glosses, we are here and there struck with glimpses of a conscience ill at ease. He is not, however, often chargeable with misstating facts, but he discolours them with observations strangely at variance with the natural deductions from the matter to which they relate.

That Leland yielded to the spirit of the times was in him no ordinary error. The first and

the best historian of Ireland, he had before him a glorious task, if he had been equal to its accomplishment. He might have soothed and appeased the bitter hatreds, and baneful animosities of his country; he might have done much to reconcile his countrymen to each other; he might have taught them that they were the children of one land, and the worshippers of one Creator; he might have been the first to announce to them a "new commandment," as surprising to the Irish as to the Jews of old — "to love one another" — and have found reasons and motives in abundance in the history he unfolded.

But the sole design of his History seems to have been to foster prejudice, and to flatter power; a poor and pitiful, but common application of talent — and Leland's was considerable.

Undoubtedly it requires no ordinary courage to deal honestly with such a subject. The Author of this work has proved the peril of a dangerous sincerity upon former occasions; and upon this he has been cautioned, by more than one warning voice, how he ventured to tread upon volcanic grounds — "sepositos cineri doloso."

He might, indeed, have refused to write; but, having written, he could do no other than follow the course he pursued in worse times, and do "equal and indifferent justice" to all.

It was the advice of his Bookseller, and his own wish, to treat the subject in as short a compass as could be, without doing it any injustice; and this he thinks he has accomplished.

In the Two Volumes which he now presents to the Public, he has brought down his History to the important epoch of the conclusion of the civil wars by the treaty of Limerick.

Hereafter, if he should find leisure for the task, he may probably continue the narrative to a later period.

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HISTORY

OF

IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

THE traditions of the ancient Irish fix the migration of that people from Spain, and the coasts of the Mediterranean, in a remote age of the world.

They appear to have partially embraced Christianity at an early period of the Christian era; and the conversion of the nation was nearly completed, by the preaching of Saint Patrick, about the fourth century.

For more than two centuries, commencing about the year 800, Ireland was disturbed by repeated invasions of the Danes, who succeeded, for a period, in establishing their dominion in the island, but were finally expelled the country.

The Danish wars were followed by an interval of great national weakness and disorder, which

seems to have invited the attempt of Henry the Second, King of England, in 1177, to acquire the sovereignty of Ireland.

Henry's enterprise was successful. He landed in Ireland, in 1173, with a small force; and the feudal title which he claimed, as Lord Paramount, was acknowledged by the Irish princes, and ratified by treaty with Roderick, King of Connaught and Lord of Ireland.

At the period of Henry's landing, Ireland was divided into a number of petty independent principalities, which were incapable of any exertion of national strength, except occasionally, when the king, or elective sovereign of the toparchs, happened to be a man who could remedy the defective constitution of his country, and supply his own want of power by ability and vigour of character.

But Roderick was a weak man: under his dominion the country had sunk into the utmost disorder; and, in the opinion of the princes of Ireland, (themselves distracted by their own dissensions,) it contained within itself no remedy of sufficient power to restore political order.

Henry was freely chosen Lord Paramount of Ireland. Nor was his sovereignty an empty name. He made grants of land, in various parts of the island, to several of his followers; and, though in most places he was without a soldier to enforce his grants, they took effect by permis-

sion of the princes of the country, — a proof that the Irish acted with good faith.

After Henry, a new order of things arose. The kings of England seem to have abandoned the sovereignty of Ireland by mere desuetude, and to have preserved no more than a precarious and uncertain authority over a portion of the province of Leinster, and some small spots upon the coast in other parts of the country; and, in place of the frank and cordial allegiance which had been tendered to Henry, distrust and jealousy had sprung up between the Irish and British, issuing sometimes in open hostilities, and seldom subsiding into any thing better than a languid and broken truce.

The effect of this state of things was to increase the disorders of the country. There was no general government, either British or Irish. The Irish princes elected no king after Roderick; and, for some centuries, the languid authority of the British crown sapped the foundations of order and civilisation more effectually than the fierce invasions of the Danes.

CHAP. II.

At the commencement of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the English power in Ireland was limited to the small district called the Pale; which included the city of Dublin, and portions of the adjacent counties. The boundaries of this petty territory were occasionally enlarged, when it happened that the weakness of the *Irish enemy*, as the native Irish were then called by the colonists, or the strength of the British settlers, permitted the latter to encroach upon the neighbouring districts.

But those aggressions upon the lands beyond the Pale were frequently retaliated, when an enterprising chief of Irish race was found to lead his countrymen to the combat; and it often happened, that the limits of the Pale were driven back, until even the walls of Dublin stood for this fluctuating boundary.

Until Henry the Eighth, the Kings of England assumed only the modest and doubtful title of Lords of Ireland, to which they were entitled by the treaty made in 1177 between Henry the Second, King of England, and Roderick, King of Connaught and Lord of Ireland. Roderick

was king of Connaught, but he held the same dominion over all the Irish princes, who exercised regal power within their own small states, that Henry claimed over him, and over his feudatories. This species of dominion, little more than honorary, was sufficiently recognised in that age, though now hardly understood, except by the antiquarian.

The kings of England have been blamed for not having at an earlier period effectually reduced the island under their dominion. If by "effectual reduction" is understood, not the voluntary obedience of the people to the British crown, which they had tendered to Henry, and which was consistent with the preservation of their property, and of many of their ancient customs and institutions, but that violent and forcible change in all these which was afterwards effected, we are not sure that the kings of England, at the period we allude to, could have acted much otherwise than they did, even though our Edwards and Henries had not been so much engaged as they were upon the more splendid theatre of ambition which the Continent then afforded.

If we consider the state of Ireland in the early ages of British connection, we shall be satisfied, that though a victory might have been more easily won over the scattered armies which that country could then furnish, than over the

troops of France, disciplined by one authority and acting under one head, yet the fruits of the triumph were to be gathered with more difficulty. A French army subdued opened the country to the victors. An Irish army routed left the conquerors pretty much where they were. They could keep no possession of a country having few towns or villages, covered with forests, intersected by numerous rivers, defended by chains of hills, and presenting every where extensive lakes and morasses closing the passes between the mountains.

The bold adventurers, who for centuries poured into Ireland in quest of fortune, traversed, indeed, frequently the most difficult of those naturally fortified districts; but they could do no more. Sometimes they were suffered to pass unmolested, because it was known that with all their valour and discipline they could but pass. More frequently they were followed on their march by the active clansmen; and wherever the ground presented those advantages which enable light and irregular troops to triumph, by mere bravery and activity, over skill and steadiness, they were sure to be assailed, and to suffer for their rash adventure amongst Irish fastnesses.

The original settlement of the Pale was formed by accident; if we can call that an accident which fixes the destiny of nations. The expulsion of the Prince of Leinster from his territory,—his

league, under the sanction of Henry the Second, with some Welsh noblemen and Norman lords, by whose aid he was restored to his chiefry,—these were the events which, in their ultimate consequences, brought about the political union of the two countries.

The Prince of Leinster had been expelled his petty kingdom in consequence, though after a long period, of the forcible abduction of the wife of O'Rourk of Breffny, and of various other excesses committed against his neighbours and his subjects: but he did not owe his restoration entirely to his Welsh and Norman associates; he had himself a very considerable party in his principality, and had always been a favourite with the lower classes of the people, who are easily induced to pardon the irregularities of the passions. The people generally direct their indignation against the violation of the natural affections, not against their excess; and Dermid, though guilty of many cruelties and outrages, was not unpopular. When his allies appeared upon the field, his partisans and dependents rallied round his standard, and presented so formidable a front to his enemies that he was soon permitted to remain in peaceable possession of his dominions. Strongbow, the most powerful of his allies, married his daughter and only child, and succeeded to an Irish title and principality.

But Strongbow was not merely an Irish prince,

he was also a British subject. In the former character there was nothing to which the jealousies of the Irish could attach; while, in the latter, he served as a conductor for the first flowings of that power which was destined, in a course of ages, to spread itself over the whole island.

Strongbow, though an Irish prince, was a stranger in the country, and felt that his new title required the support of his old allegiance. He could not forego British protection; and, under cover of that protection, the British power, in a new form, was extended gradually over Leinster; and, by similar means, crept from time to time, into remoter parts of the island. Partly by force and stratagem, but chiefly by alliances, many of the great English lords found means to establish themselves in various distant parts of Ireland, but more as Irish tanists, or chiefs, than as English vassals. In this manner were the great families of Fitzgerald, Grace, De Lacy, De Burgo and others founded. These, like their new kinsmen of Irish blood, affected some times to acknowledge the supremacy of the British crown, sometimes openly renounced it. Yet their English descent made them always be looked upon with an eye of favour by the government of England, even in their transgressions; and in the vigorous periods of British power, which sometimes occurred in Ireland, their offences were passed over, or the measure of punishment was poured out with a tender and

reluctant hand ; while the vial was emptied upon offenders of mere Irish blood.

The Anglo-Irish lords, like the native Irish nobility, claimed royal authority upon their estates, and exercised sovereign power. They executed the laws, inflicted punishments, levied taxes, and performed all other functions of absolute dominion which the customs and institutions of the country permitted. They very soon also adopted the language, dress, and modes of living of the island, and were in all respects Irish, but descent.

Besides the territory of the Pale, and the estates in sovereignty of the Anglo-Irish lords, which were thinly scattered through the country, the British government had also acquired possession, at an early period, of the Danish towns and settlements upon the coast. The Danes, who were a commercial as well as military people, had, during their partial dominion in Ireland in the eighth and ninth centuries, founded or improved the cities of Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, and others ; and the Irish lords, after having broken their yoke, were not disposed to molest the industrious citizens of the towns, who supplied them, by means of their commerce, with the foreign commodities they required, and a revenue that was very acceptable. The Danes were permitted to pursue their traffic in peace.

When the British got footing in the island, they found the Danish settlements of the towns in a prosperous state; and being, like those northerns, of a commercial as well as warlike character, they were not slow to discern the advantages to be derived from the possession of such convenient places of trade, or tardy in making themselves masters of them. This was easily accomplished. The Danes were too feeble to resist; and the Irish lords, who looked upon both Danish and British as but varieties of the same species of craftsmen, whose skill might be useful, but whose power could never become formidable, took little notice of what was transacted in those hives of commerce, where they counted upon sharing the honey whether produced by the old inmates or the new swarm.

There is some evidence that in the period of the Roman empire Ireland was known as a place of trade; and her ports, we are told, were more frequented than those of Britain. But this trade, whatever was its nature, must have been confined to the sea-ports; for, even at the time of the British settlements, the Irish were essentially a pastoral people. The Irish lords, and even the Irish of the lower classes, had at this period a contempt for trade, which they long retained. Their laws, usages, and manners were patriarchal; and, when the British introduced amongst them a number of laborious arts and refinements, they

received them with the contempt and resistance which they had successfully opposed to the ruder skill and industry of Denmark. They considered the wants of life as few, and easily supplied; and the accommodations which can be procured by great labour only, as a yoke of slavery degrading to freemen.

But the Irish, though a pastoral nation, were a civilised people. Tribes of hunters are mostly savages; pastoral nations are generally civilised. They possess the few domestic arts which are essential to comfort. The farm that yields food furnishes clothing also, and building materials, furniture, and pottery. The weaver, the potter, the carpenter, and the mason are found, if not in the same cottage, yet on the same ploughland. This is the second state of mankind; and, simple as it is, it is consistent with a considerable degree of intellectual culture, as appears from what we know of the condition of the Eastern tribes in distant ages, and even in the time of Abraham, the great father of nations.

We know that the mines of Ireland were worked by no unskilful hands in ages exceedingly remote; and that the ancient nobility of that country possessed arms, ornaments, and domestic vessels of gold and silver of excellent workmanship; and linen and woollen manufactures of great beauty.

The literature of the pastoral nations was by no means contemptible. It was imaginative and thoughtful. Confined to the higher and more exalted subjects which exercise the human mind, it formed the taste of the initiated to poetry and philosophy. The early writings of the Irish have a great resemblance to those of the Jews and other Eastern people.

The civil institutions of the Irish were such as suited a simple and pastoral people, and were excellent; the political institutions very bad. The early British writers inveighed against the laws of Ireland, as exceedingly barbarous, because they were mild and simple; but the progress of improvement in legislation seems to indicate that the barbarism was upon the side of the British. Those writers had formed their notions of the perfection of law, upon the cramp and puzzled jurisprudence which grew like a fungus from the decay of the feudal system, and which, instead of being, as Lord Coke pronounces it, in the excess of his admiration, the "perfection of human wisdom," seems to be frequently the perfection of intricacy. But if the British system was imperfect in detail, in principle it was inestimable and complete.

The ancient Irish law supplied a prompt and local administration of justice. The judge was always in his district, and the law he had to

administer was well known. The accused and the accuser were brought before him, and all the parties to a cause were examined, taking their evidence with the caution which their interest made necessary. The most recent discoveries in law-making seem to pronounce this to be the best system. It is also ascertained that the mild and bloodless criminal law of the Irish was founded in true wisdom, though our old writers pronounce the want of sanguinary and violent punishments in the Irish code, as the distinguishing mark of its barbarity. The local judge was also the register. Every deed was publicly acknowledged before him, and authenticated with his signature.

If the civil law of the Irish was good; the political constitution was exceedingly defective. The country was parcelled out into a number of chiefries or independent principalities, which formed a scheme of admirable contrivance for weakening a nation, and depriving it of all external power or internal strength. This system of government must have been common to all nations in the pastoral state, while yet land was abundant, and the heads of families could say to each other, as Abraham did to Lot: "Lo, is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me: if thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if

thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left." *

But when land was no longer plenty, those families, now spread into clans or tribes, would speedily come into conflict respecting boundaries, and universal disorder would prevail. To apply a remedy to this evil, a feeble attempt was generally made, by the heads of tribes electing from their number a supreme chief or lord paramount. This was the original constitution of Germany, France, Spain, Britain, Ireland, and most other parts of the world. But the authority which the petty princes were willing to confer upon their chief, was always limited and unequal to the task of internal peace or external defence. And the confusion and barbarism generally consequent upon a number of independent chiefries being crowded into a narrow space, was only avoided where the inevitable conflict of the parties, or the progress of circumstances, issued in the absolute dominion of one potent prince over all the rest. This took place at an early period in the great states of the Continent, and in England, and finally it was accomplished throughout the British Islands, by the gradual flowing of that power which was soonest concentrated, over the other portions of the two islands.

* Gen. xiii. 9.

The spreading of the British power over Ireland was of the same character as over Scotland and Wales; and presents us with nearly a similar train of events. The two islands, from their circumstances and position, were naturally prepared to become one state; the narrow sea which divides them presenting little greater impediment, than the *marches* which separated the three states of the larger island.

The evil consequences of an aggregation of small principalities was aggravated in Ireland by the laws which prevented individuals from acquiring property in land, and made the territory of the sept to be the common estate of all its members. The tribe or clan, however numerous, comprised each but one family, of which the chief was elective, though always chosen from a particular stock.

It is obvious, that such a law of property must have discouraged agriculture and the arts; and, accordingly, we find that the Irish subsisted chiefly upon their herds and flocks, which were the property of the whole tribe, and were suffered to roam at large over the district which the clan claimed as their own. As tribes became powerful and their cattle numerous, they would not scruple to encroach upon their neighbour's boundaries, and to support their encroachments by force. Hence frequent and sanguinary conflicts of tribes. The vanquished generally

lost a portion of their territory, or were compelled to submit to a tribute, almost always consisting of cattle, with an occasional addition of arms, plate, and in some instances of ships. "Send me tribute — or else," said an Irish chief to a neighbouring prince. "I owe you none — and if —" was the haughty and laconic reply: for tribute was always refused, where the subject tribe had acquired strength enough to defend its flocks and herds. The celebrated Bryan *Boru* (cattle) derived his latter appellation from the tributes he imposed upon his vanquished enemies.

With all the disadvantages of the institutions of the ancient Irish, there were intervals of peace, and even of glory and refinement, occurring from time to time, as accident and circumstances favoured them. The reigns of a few powerful and fortunate princes furnish us with those bright intervals, upon which the annalists of Ireland dwell with so much pleasure and pride. Nor is the literature and the arts they boast of at all inconsistent with the genius and condition of the people.

There is evidence that no small degree of cultivation existed in Ireland from the remotest times, probably derived from the parent states on the shores of the Mediterranean, from which the written and oral traditions of the Irish derive their origin, and to which all the analogies

of language, manners, and customs strongly refer. This early proficiency served as a foundation for Christianity, when first introduced into the island by the predecessors of St. Patrick. And when at length, under the preaching of the patriarch, Christianity was fully and cordially received, it served greatly to advance that ancient literature which had so long existed in the country.

The Christian missionaries introduced, with the civilisation of the Gospel, the language and learning of Rome and Greece, always powerful auxiliaries to refinement. Churches were built for divine worship; and colleges founded for the instruction of the chiefs and priesthood, and the accommodation of strangers. The pious zeal and generous spirit of the Irish people poured itself out in acts of liberality and kindness towards all who visited their country in pursuit of knowledge, or with a view to promote the great cause of Christianity, then the grand object of the enlightened and liberal of mankind; and in all ages the main instrument of liberty and civilisation.

When the Irish annalists talk of the colleges of Armagh and Lismore, and other parts of Ireland, and of the thousands of native and foreign students who resorted to those places of instruction, it is not to be imagined that those colleges were sumptuous buildings resembling the

marble palaces in which literature has been so tastefully lodged in Italy, or even equalling the fine Gothic structures consecrated to the muses in other parts of the world.

Buildings so extensive as those of Ireland must have been of cheap materials; and we know that in the early ages of Christianity the common dwelling-houses of the country, and even those of the chiefs, were for the most part built of timber, or a strong frame-work of timber, with wattles and plaster. These were the ordinary buildings of the country, and continued so for ages after. There are unpublished letters in existence, from some of the early British invaders, describing those dwellings as very comfortable and commodious.

Something of this style of building prevailed also at the same period in England, and we have specimens of it remaining in that country to the present day. The houses of the chiefs differed from those of their humblest followers, in extent and solidity only. The materials and the style were the same.

But it is a mistake to imagine, that long before the landing of Henry the Second in Ireland there were not buildings of stone and mortar, and of workmanship equal to what were to be found, at that period, in France, England, and other new countries. In the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, there

were churches, colleges, and other public buildings of stone, in various parts of Ireland, though it is probable that the greater number were of timber and other cheap materials. These, as well as many of the more durable edifices, were destroyed during the ravages of the Danes, who visited every thing connected with literature and Christianity, with their particular hatred and vengeance. Yet there are remains of many stone buildings, of no mean workmanship, still to be found, of a more ancient date than the British invasion. These are chiefly to be found in Connaught, where the remains of Irish antiquities have been least exposed to injury. And in all parts of the country the round towers attest an acquaintance with the art of building in stone and mortar long prior to the age of the second Henry.

It is curious that a controversy should have been carried on for a long period, in books, upon this subject, when a slight inspection of the face of the country would have put an end to the debate. The stone and mortar would have answered for itself, and a small degree of attention would have settled the date. But, independently of this conclusive evidence, there would have been some strong proof from probability.

Nothing is better established in history, than that Ireland, during part of the sixth, the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, was the

chief seat of learning in the west. The authorities upon this head are very numerous. They are of all nations, and above all suspicion. Students from every part of the Christian world resorted to Ireland for the purposes of study, and crowded the halls of Armagh, Timolegue, Lismore, and other schools and colleges. Here the Holy Scriptures were preserved and studied, and the learning and languages of antiquity cultivated.

It has been said, that the learning and refinement which the Irish lay claim to in those ages were confined to their schools and monasteries, and had little or no effect upon the bulk of the people, who still continued engaged with their barbarous feuds and ferocious conflicts. This is true, but it is not true of Ireland only: it is true of all parts of the world where learning has ever flourished. It is true of past ages and of the present. Ireland, during part of that period when learning was cultivated in her colleges, and her name was famous throughout Europe, was torn by the dissensions of her petty princes, who waged a fierce and cruel warfare upon each other.

But it was so also in Greece, in the best days of her arts and oratory. It was so in Italy, when the genius of that wonderful country burst the bonds of the priests and the barbarians, and illuminated all Europe with a short

and dazzling glory. It has been so in many other nations and ages of the world.

It is true, that the beams of this literature of former ages, however brilliantly they illuminated the halls of the colleges, left the outer courts, and the country at large, in profound darkness, or enjoying only some scattered and doubtful gleams of the precious light of knowledge. This was the case not in Ireland only, but every where.

In ancient times learning was taught as a kind of mystery, to be communicated only to the initiated, and which it was not only impossible, but would have been considered improper to communicate to the vulgar. This notion prevailed to a very late period. The learned, throughout Europe, disdained to write in the language of their nations, and used only the Latin tongue. There was, as it were, a double seal upon the fountain of knowledge, — the scarcity of manuscripts, and the difficulty of a foreign dialect.

In the early ages the clergy were almost the sole depositaries of learning: the laity throughout Europe possessed only the pale light of knowledge, reflected upon them from the clerical order. Yet this was something; and it was as much in Ireland as any where. The civilisation prevailing amongst the laity was not inferior to what obtained in that age in any other part

of Europe. Nor was the warfare that raged in Ireland (though petty wars are always most cruel) distinguished for barbarity beyond the wars of other nations, and of periods much more recent. The cruelties practised by the republican soldiery in the Cromwellian wars far exceed in atrocity any thing recorded of the barbarous conflicts of the Irish. The same can be testified of the wars of the League in France, the wars of the Italian states, the struggles of the French Revolution, and other sanguinary and cruel conflicts in various parts of the world.

There is no weight in the argument drawn from the comparative ignorance of the Irish laity, or the cruelty of their petty wars. In these respects they were nothing singular. Their condition is easily comprehended. As to learning, they were in the condition of the other gentry of Europe. They had their bards and historians; men whose trade was the literature of their age. The gentry had no other pursuit than war; and the people were addicted solely to agriculture, and a few simple arts of life. The chiefs and the populace had, at an early period, no literature beyond the rhymes committed to memory. But as early as the Norman invasion, under Henry the Second, we find the Irish chiefs sufficiently conversant with the Latin language; and in their letters of subsequent date, written in that tongue, we find

them making constant allusion to the events of Roman history.

The nation at large manufactured their own woollen and linen clothing, and were skilful in the manufacture of arms, and vessels of silver and gold. They were remarkable for their taste and skill in music, according to the simple science of those early ages. They were powerful enough at sea, at a very early period, to contend successfully against the Danes, then bold and skilful navigators; and when the Irish monarchy had passed away, some of the southern chieftains, in the decline of their fortunes, still continued to exercise a formidable power upon the shores of the ocean.

Such a nation could not be a nation of barbarians; neither were they in a condition of much refinement. They were, as we have stated, in the second stage of mankind: a simple and pastoral people, with the cultivation that belongs generally to that state of society. Accidental circumstances made the island, for three or four centuries, the seat of learning in the west; and the calamity of an unhappy political constitution exposed the country to a state of almost perpetual turbulence and war. The Irish appeal, with just pride, to the happy days of their ancient renown, when the youth of Europe flocked to their schools; and when Irishmen, illustrious for their learning, were

spread over the face of Britain and of the Continent, founding colleges in deserts, and struggling to maintain, or to re-establish, the empire of religion and letters. The renown of nations is the best part of their inheritance,—and Ireland is fully entitled to what she claims in this particular.

CHAP. III.

THE church of Ireland, down to the period of the British invasion, had maintained the faith as derived from Patrick and his predecessors. Then first she submitted to the yoke of Rome, imposed by the hand of Henry. The Roman pontiffs had previously made frequent attempts upon the Irish church, in vain, though their efforts at the council of Kells, and upon other occasions, were directed with all the skill and management for which the court of Rome has ever been remarkable. At the council of Lismore, at which Henry assisted, the Irish church was at length subdued, and submitted to the Papal authority, which it had so long combated.

The ancient church of Ireland acknowledged no higher authority on earth than the Archbishop of Armagh. But the Danish churches in Ireland acknowledged the supremacy of the see of Canterbury. This originated in no difference of doctrine, but in the natural jealousies of nations, and in the ancient connection which subsisted between the Danes of the two islands.

The doctrine, discipline, and ceremonial, as far as we know them, of the ancient Irish church,

differed, in many important particulars, from those of modern Rome.

The study of the holy writings appears to have been the chief occupation of the pious, not the modes and ceremonies of worship. The bishops and parish clergy were generally married men. But those who devoted themselves to the propagation of the Gospel, or the advancement of learning in foreign countries, were unincumbered with families or matrimonial ties. This class of men were very numerous, and founded many religious houses and schools of philosophy in France, Spain, Italy, Germany, and Britain. They were remarkable, generally, for considerable talent, and for bold, liberal, and vigorous views. And when Rome first showed a disposition to encroach upon the other churches of Europe, she encountered, from the learned Irish throughout the world, the most determined resistance.

The ceremonies of worship appear to have been few and simple, and to have been derived originally from the Eastern churches, previous to the preaching of Patrick. The mode of observing Easter was Asiatic, as were many other observances of the Irish church, which supported the tradition, that the first preachers of Christianity in Ireland were disciples of Saint John.

The ancient order of the "Culdees" existed in Ireland previous to Patrick; and all their

institutions proved that they were derived from a different origin from that of Rome. This celebrated order gave many eminent men to the Irish church, and to Scotland and other parts of the world, among whom Columbkill has still a name in Ireland as venerable and revered as that of Patrick himself.

The church-discipline of the Culdees seems to have afforded the model for the modern Presbyterian establishment of Scotland.

The customs of the Irish, with respect to marriage, admitted a freedom nearly amounting to the polygamy of their Asiatic ancestors, from whom they boasted to be derived, and a liberty of divorce even more objectionable. They contended, that the law of the New Testament had imposed no restraint in this respect, except in the case of the clergy, and that it was a matter left entirely to the discretion of the civil power, and to be regulated by the exigencies of society.

But the original British settlers, and those who followed them from time to time, looked with horror upon a people who made light of having more wives than one, who did not punish theft, nor even murder with death, and who wore the beard upon the upper lip, — and considered them as out of the protection of all laws, human and divine.

Upon this foundation of ignorant contempt and abhorrence was raised that strange and

ferocious code, and fiercer prejudice, under which the Irish had to endure so many ages of persecution. No nation ever suffered so much for the laxity of their moral law and the humanity of their civil institutions.

If we are struck with the number of schools and colleges, the names of which, and of the teachers, and the numbers of the students, are in many instances handed down to us, all which appear in our age to be very astonishing, we shall be equally surprised if we consider the vast number of bishopricks, or as we should now call them, rectories or parishes, into which the country was divided, and which proves, beyond a doubt, a high degree of national prosperity, and a population greatly exceeding what we consider to be an excess at the present day. A single parish of our time, in most parts of Ireland, and which is considered as affording only an extent of space and population adequate to the maintenance of one clergyman, in the ancient times we refer to, supported three, four, five, or six, bishops or rectors, and was divided into as many parishes, having each its parish church. There is no doubt of this fact; for the names of the ancient parishes, so grouped together to form one modern parish, are on record, and in many instances the ruins of the churches may still be traced. What must be the numbers and the means of the people who could build so many churches and

support so many teachers? This circumstance proves that there is no exaggeration in the historical accounts transmitted to us of the numerous schools and colleges of Ireland in remote times.

CHAP. IV.

From the settlement of Strongbow in Leinster to the reign of Elizabeth, a period of four hundred years, the people of Ireland, with the exception of the Anglo-Irish, dwelling within the small territory of the Pale, continued to be governed by their ancient laws and institutions. The authority of the chiefs was still acknowledged by the clansmen; but among the chiefs themselves there was no combination or concentration of power. The kings of England had succeeded, under the treaty of 1177, by a legitimate title to the monarchy of Ireland; but they had always acted as if they considered the right they claimed to be but a mere shadow. If their title to the crown of Ireland were substantial, it cast upon them the responsibility of providing for the welfare, and promoting the interests, of their new subjects.

That the title of the kings of England to the crown of Ireland was a true and substantial title cannot be doubted. It had been settled by treaty, and repeatedly confirmed by the voluntary submissions of the Irish princes. If

the throne of Ireland was not filled by the king of England, it was vacant.

Henry the Eighth, with the consent of the Irish princes, changed the title of LORD of Ireland, which he derived from Roderick, into that of KING, which the increasing power of the British monarchy, and the decay of feudalism, rendered more appropriate.

Several of the most distinguished Irish lords, among whom were the heads of the great houses of O'Neil and O'Brien, both of which had for ages given kings to Ireland, attended Henry at his court in London, and acknowledged and ratified his title.

Neither at this period, nor at any former time, had there been a *conquest* of Ireland. Strongbow's right to the principality of Leinster had accrued by treaty with Dermid, and by succession. The title of Henry the Second was founded also upon treaty with Roderick, and confirmed by the consent of his feudal lords. Again, in the reign of Richard the Second, the Irish princes did voluntary homage to the king, then in Ireland.

Those princes and nobles were well aware of the power of the British monarchy, united under one head, and were perfectly sensible that Ireland, parcelled out into a multitude of independent chiefries, could escape from a frightful state of disorder only by the measure they had

adopted of conferring the ancient crown of their nation upon the British monarch. The two islands had, from the remotest times, maintained that intimate communication and connection which grew out of their proximity; and when the crown of Ireland was placed upon the head which already wore the diadem of Britain, it was not a transfer made to an alien or a stranger, nor was the transaction a weak or pusillanimous surrender of the sovereignty of Ireland. A wiser measure could not have been devised, to remedy the disorders of the country, than the union of the two islands, contemplated by the treaty between Henry and Roderick.

If it failed, as undoubtedly it did in a great degree, the fault was not with the princes or the people of Ireland. These had done their part. And as far as good intention went, the kings of England had ever been disposed to do justice to their subjects in Ireland.

But it was seldom in their power to accomplish this object of their wishes. Occupied with continental wars, and foreign politics, or domestic troubles, they were generally forced to leave Ireland very much in the hands of the ministers of the crown in that country. And these, unhappily, for a series of ages, found their private interest in direct opposition to their public duty.

It was the private interest of all the great officers of state in Ireland, to keep the Irish people in a condition of perpetual discontent and rebellion, as long as any lands remained in the possession of the ancient proprietors, which the crown might be willing to dispose of in their favour. It was easy to excite the Irish, by insult or injury, to insurrection; to subdue them by the power of the state; and to procure from the crown a grant of the lands of the insurgents.

Undoubtedly, there were cases in which the insurrections of the Irish chiefs were unprovoked and inexcusable, but these were rare. Though the Irish lords frequently turned their arms against each other, in the prosecution of their local feuds, few ever ventured, unless compelled by oppression or injustice, to take arms against the state. The Ulster prince, O'Neil, when summoned to attend King Richard, at Carlow, obeyed without hesitation, and declared, that whenever he had taken arms, it was only to protect himself against the aggressions of the servants of the crown, who abused the authority confided to them, and betrayed the interests of their master. The descendant of this chieftain held the same language in the reign of Elizabeth.

The oppressions practised in Ireland, by the servants of the government, took place often

without the knowledge, and rarely with the consent of the crown. And when the consent appears to have been obtained, we find, generally, that the truth had not reached the royal ear, and that those whose interest lay in deceiving the monarch, had been successful in the deceit which was necessary to cover their enormities.

The interest and the glory of the crown was opposed to the policy of government, as it long prevailed in Ireland; and though the Kings of England were shut out at the period we are adverting to, much more than they have since been, from a knowledge of what was passing around them and transacting in their name, they occasionally obtained accidental glimpses of the enormities, to which they were innocent and unconscious parties, and they had generally sense enough to discern the mischief, though seldom power to remedy the abuse. Kings rarely take great delight in the oppressions practised in their name, for the profit of other parties.

The press, which in modern times is the great instructor of the people, is still more, perhaps, the instructor of the prince. The people derive instruction from many sources; the king from this source almost exclusively. The knowledge which is open to him through this channel, is a great security to the subject against the abuse of his authority in the hands of his servants.

The history of Ireland, from its first connection with Britain down to the treaty of Limerick, is little more than a history of confiscations, of which the original Irish, and afterwards the Anglo-Irish, were the victims; and throughout which we observe, from time to time, the crown, sometimes vigorously, sometimes feebly, but always vainly, interfering to check the rage of spoliation.

The public of England were entirely ignorant of the real nature of the wars and disturbances which prevailed, almost without intermission, for hundreds of years in Ireland. They were altogether innocent of the oppressions practised in that country; and yet, there is no doubt, that the prejudices they had conceived against the Irish, and which had been artfully impressed upon them, contributed greatly to the calamities that had fallen upon that people. English prejudice was the breast-work, under cover of which the servants of the government in Ireland wrought the ruin of the people, and defied the threatenings, and disobeyed the instructions of the crown.

Those whose interest it was to procure for themselves the shelter of public opinion, were in exclusive possession of all the means by which it is created. The press was in their hands. And if we consider the small community of readers which existed in those ages, we shall

be surprised at the efforts which were made, and the industry that was used to create an opinion, that the Irish were a race incurably vicious, incapable of improvement and instruction, who could be trained to no industry, or good or honourable pursuit. It was boldly asserted, and at length it was very generally believed, that it was meritorious in the sight of God to exterminate a race so wicked; and that public policy required that the soil of Ireland should be in the possession of a people capable of the ordinary duties and obligations of humanity.

Hundreds of pamphlets have come down to us inculcating this leading principle, which was the grand foundation of all those schemes of violence that were contrived and executed against the Irish in the earlier periods of British connection.

In the reign of Elizabeth those schemes acquired their highest degree of activity and perfection. The Irish, who foresaw the coming ruin, had, at various periods, besought the crown that they should be admitted to the privileges of British subjects; and that the injurious distinctions which the acts of the small parliament of the Pale had created between them and the inhabitants of that little territory, for the most unjust purposes, should be blotted out. But the colonists of the Pale always contrived to defeat those applications, which appeared to them

somewhat in the light in which some of the privileged classes of Englishmen at the present day, regard the numerous proposals for abolishing the *preserves* of the kingdom, and repealing the game laws.

The *wild* Irish of the three provinces of Ulster, Munster, and Connaught were the *game* which the colonists of the Pale were most anxious to preserve, by excluding them from the privileges of British subjects.

In vain the Irish urged that they had conferred the crown of their nation freely upon the British monarch, and that they were entitled in return to the protection of the king, and the rights of subjects. The force of the argument could not be discerned, because its effect would have been to confirm those who used it in the possession of their estates.

The name of *wild* Irish had done much to promote the views of the colonists, or rather of the numerous tribes of adventurers which poured into Ireland in rapid succession, through the inlet of the Leinster colony. Wild was taken to be synonymous with barbarous, and it was easy to persuade the British public, that manners and customs different from their own must deserve that appellation, and that barbarians were not entitled to the rights of civilised subjects.

All nations, in all ages, have considered manners different from their own as barbarous. It

was a common error founded upon pride, which is common to all. There was no doubt of the superior civilisation of the British at this period. Their institutions were in a state of vigour and advancement, those of the Irish were in process of decay, and had not yet been superseded by the new graft from Britain. But the root whence the institutions of Ireland had sprung, had given proof, in the day of its strength, that it was not of a barbarian stock.

The remonstrances of the Irish nobles were frequent and vehement upon the indignity and injustice with which they were treated. The privileges of British subjects were the sole boon they asked of Britain for the crown of their country which they had bestowed, and which, they contended, was the most ancient and illustrious in Europe, and had been recognised in the face of the world, at an ancient council of deputies from the chief powers of Christendom, as conferring high and important privileges upon the prince who wore it.

This was the unsettled state of things in Ireland after four hundred years of British connection. In this long series of ages the limits of the colony had scarcely been extended. The parliament of the Pale consisted exclusively of representatives, if they could be so called, from the towns and villages of Leinster, and of the nobles having estates within this small district,

and a few others whose possessions lay in remote parts of the country, within the Irish territory, but who being descended from the ancient stock of the original, or Strongbonian settlers, were considered by the Irish, as in fact they were, perfectly naturalised, and were looked upon by the more recent English as still enjoying the privileges of British peerage and descent.

Notwithstanding that four fifths of Ireland was not represented, or permitted to be represented in the Leinster parliament, yet this provincial assembly did not hesitate to legislate for the whole kingdom. While they denied the Irish the protection of the law, they held them subject to its penal enactments. With astonishing inconsistency the colonial parliament, when adverting to the Irish people in their acts, designate them as the "Irish Enemy," as aliens and foreigners in a state of perpetual war, and yet held them to be bound by, and to owe obedience to, those very laws which so stigmatised them.

The Irish were placed in an awkward and distressing position. The people could not tell which code of laws they were to obey, their own or the English. The nobles were at a loss to comprehend by what titles they held their estates, whether the ancient Irish tenure of Tainistry or the British fee-simple. They were denied the

benefits of either, and subject to the penalties of both.

If an Irishman killed an inhabitant of the Pale, he was tried by the British law, and executed for murder; if an Englishman or Anglo-Irishman slew a *mere* Irishman, he was tried by the Brehon code, which subjected him to a fine only. It was the same in the case of property, whenever a question arose between the Irish and the colonists. If the Brehon law invalidated the title of the former, the rule of that abrogated code was applied; if it confirmed his possession, then the law of England was appealed to, and he was stripped of his inheritance.

These two codes met the Irish in every transaction of life like a doubly armed adversary. If the chieftain executed the ancient law within his own territory, or collected the accustomed dues from his clansmen, he was held to be guilty of high treason by the law of England. If, on his death, his heir claimed, by the same law, to be entitled to the inheritance of his ancestor, he was answered, that by the Brehon code the inheritance had lapsed to the clan, and the crown therefore claimed it.

It is not wonderful that under circumstances of so much hardship the Irish were impatient of their condition. It was an object of the greatest importance to the nobility to convert their titles by Tainistry into British fee-simples. The Tainist

was an absolute prince upon his estate, subject only to the laws which custom had established. The inheritance was in his family, but was not limited to his immediate kindred. The clansmen might exclude his children, and elect a distant branch of the same stock to the succession. Again, the Tainist had no property in the land, which belonged to the clan generally, and he could claim no more than a customary usufruct for life.

The substantial advantages of a British title were infinitely of more value than the power and splendour of a Tainist's rank; and the Irish lords sought every means, and sometimes paid considerable sums, to be permitted to exchange their brilliant hereditary coronets, for the more solid security of an English title.

The lower classes of the people were as anxious as the nobility to obtain the advantages of a British title. Every clan held its lands in commonage, and no man could claim a spot or farm as his own. This system, which appears to have worked well when the Irish institutions were in their vigour, was found, in their decay, to be full of inconvenience. Industry languished, and was almost destroyed by the violence of the idle and the profligate. The power of the chief, formerly limited by the law, and well defined in the ancient customs of the country, knew now no bounds, and fell, with a force accumulated ten-

fold by the calamities and distresses of the country, upon the industry of the peaceable and well disposed. From this oppression the people longed to shelter themselves under the strong fence of an English title, which permitted them to rent a separate farm, each man to himself, from which the chief could demand no more than the reserved rent, and upon which the idle clansman could make no exaction.

But down to the close of Elizabeth's reign, the entreaties of chiefs and people were unavailing to procure from the crown the privileges of British subjects. The utmost energy of the Anti-Irish faction was exerted to prevent this most desirable accommodation. Many of the Irish nobility, indeed, succeeded in obtaining patents from the crown, applying to their individual case, and converting their Irish into the British titles. But these were almost always procured through the influence of the officers of the crown in Ireland; and as they exacted great sums of money for the occasional exertion of this influence, it is probable that the profit derived from this source may have been an impediment in the way of any general enactment, which might give the Irish the benefit they sought, without fee or solicitation.

CHAP. V.

THE reign of Elizabeth opened a new era in Ireland. It was a reign of incessant war, the results of which changed every thing in that country. The wars of Elizabeth's reign grew out of two principal causes. The first and chief cause was the vastly increased influx of English adventurers into Ireland, to whom war was necessary as the only means of fortune. The second great cause was the reformation, which afforded to all parties that wished it the means and pretence of war.

About this period the population of England had begun to rise considerably above the ordinary channels of business and occupation, which before had sufficed for it. The revival of learning had produced the reformation, and both had concurred in giving a new impulse to the human mind. Wealth began to be created with increased rapidity, and to be coveted with added eagerness. Trade put forth new powers and resources; and population followed keeping pace, as is ever the case, and perhaps passing beyond the means which the new intellectual activity supplied.

The alterations which took place in the state of property in England, during the reigns of Henry the Eighth and his children, concurred powerfully, with the increase of population, to throw forth from the bosom of society a multitude of needy and daring spirits accustomed to bold speculations, and prepared for desperate attempts. To such men as these the state of Ireland offered a rich harvest, and accordingly we find them at this period crowding into that country. Many found the death they dared; and some the wealth they sought for.

Henry the Eighth has been painted as a tyrant, and so he was; but his ability as a man and a statesman has not been so generally recognised; nevertheless, he was a man of no ordinary talent. He presented the first outline of the reformation to Ireland, as he had done to England, with a total carelessness of fitness or preparation, and commanding assent rather than seeking to win opinion.

The result, however, was different. The British power in Ireland was too feeble, and the personal character of the king was too little felt, to impose much restraint upon the people, in expressing their abhorrence of the innovation proposed. Cromer, archbishop of Armagh, and an Englishman, denounced the new doctrines as heretical and abominable, and was supported by the whole church of Ireland. Brown, a respect-

able ecclesiastic, who had been sent to Ireland upon his embracing the reformed religion, and advanced to the see of Dublin, found himself unable to make any progress in the great work he had undertaken. He had probably imagined that the power and character of the king would produce an effect in Ireland, similar to what he saw it accomplish in the sister country. In his letters to the Lord Cromwell, he confesses his mistake, and acknowledges despondingly that the English authorities had little power with the people in Ireland.

The king, however, did not despond. He saw that violence would accomplish nothing in this case, and he took the course of an able and judicious statesman: he waited till the rage which had been kindled by the first proposition of the reformation had somewhat abated; and until O'Neil, who had been excited to take arms by Cromer and the pope, had returned voluntarily to his allegiance, after having met some slight checks in the field; and he induced this great chieftain to visit him at his court in London.

The king received the chief of Ulster with the most flattering courtesies; he prevailed upon him to accept the title of Earl of Tyrone; he placed a chain of gold on his neck; and won him not only to the strongest professions of attachment and allegiance, but induced him with

little difficulty to renounce the church of Rome and adopt the reformed religion.

O'Neil's example was followed by some of the chief nobles of Ireland, and even by some of the Romish bishops, who were connected with their families. O'Brien of Thomond, the Lord Desmond, M'William, Clanrickard, and others, waited on the king at London, and were all received with favour and attention, and presented with gifts, titles, and honours. They returned to their country highly gratified with the king, and well disposed towards his religion.

For the remainder of Henry's reign, universal peace prevailed in Ireland; and a groundwork was laid for a gradual introduction of the great change in the religion of the country, which was necessary to assimilate the worship of the two islands.

It is surprising that the success of this experiment of Henry's, upon the vanity and good-nature of his Irish subjects, seems never to have tempted any of his successors to imitate this cheap and easy mode of governing that precious portion of their dominions.

The affairs of Ireland were not so happily conducted under Edward the Sixth. Some petty warfare having broken out between O'Connor and O'Moore, lords of the districts of Leix and O'Fally, (now King's and Queen's county,) and the district of the Pale, the two insurgent

lords were speedily reduced by the Lord Deputy Bellingham, and invited to repair to the court of England, there to prefer their complaints. They were told of the gracious reception accorded by King Henry to O'Neil and other chiefs, who, like them, had been in arms, and were, nevertheless, received into royal favour.

The Irish chiefs followed the advice that was pressed upon them, and, in full confidence, repaired to the court of Edward; where, instead of being received as Henry had received their countrymen, they were closely imprisoned, and their lands divided amongst those by whose treacherous counsels they had been persuaded to pass into England.

This imprudent conduct of the young prince, who was understood to be a champion of the reformation, alarmed the Irish people, and indisposed them to the British crown, and the communion of the church of England.

The king ought at least to have heard the Irish lords, and not to have stripped them of their inheritances without judgment or legal decision; especially as they had put themselves in his hands, in a generous confidence in his honour.

The descendants of O'Moore more than retaliated, in after times, upon the British colony, the injuries he suffered.

The faithlessness and impolicy of the new Protestant government, in their conduct towards O'Moore and O'Connor, had indisposed the minds of the Irish nobles to the cause of the reformation, which they had embraced rather in conformity to the wishes of Henry, who had won their attachment, than from motives of conviction. But their alienation was changed into disgust and abhorrence, by the indecent and precipitate violence with which the reformers, under the Protector Somerset, proceeded to plunder the churches. The garrison of Athlone pillaged the celebrated church of Clonmacnoise, carried off the plate and valuable ornaments, broke the stained windows, defaced the carvings, destroyed the bells and books, and committed every species of outrage. The same proceedings took place in other parts of the country.

It was easy, indeed, to accomplish a reformation of this description: and, unfortunately, the reformers of Ireland seem always, as in this instance, to have confined their zeal to the reforms which might be effected in stone and mortar, tapestry, gildings, and plate; and when these materials had undergone a thorough conversion to Protestantism, they rested from their labours, and were content.

But this process of reformation, like the analogous one of penal and disqualifying statutes on account of religious opinion, whatever success

it might have upon stone walls, and superstitious carvings and gildings, had no other effect upon the minds of the people, than to strengthen their attachment to their old opinions, and to create a vehement dislike against the new doctrine.

Christianity came forth from its author pure and unconnected with the interests of this world, and its success was rapid and wonderful, — extending in a few years almost to the limits of the universe. The reformation was mingled with all the business and affairs of the world, — its wealth, its revenues, its state policy, and its ambition; and its progress was impeded, and its purity was corrupted, and its usefulness was circumscribed by all these entanglements. Nor has it yet entirely purged itself of the evil passions which deformed it in its birth.

Probably the best mode of effecting a reformation in religion, where the people are not prepared to change their faith by royal edict, would be, to deprive the erroneous church of the support of a public establishment, to leave it to its own resources, and then to turn loose the new doctrines upon the same level, to contend with error, as the first teachers of Christianity did, without fee or reward, and to reserve the comforts of an establishment as the wages of victory.

The short reign of Edward the Sixth was the

crisis of the reformation in Ireland. The ease with which it was received by the Irish nobility, under Henry the Eighth, proves that there was not, if the business had been managed with ordinary prudence, any very considerable impediment in its way. It had been received by the Bishops of Kildare, Leighlin, Meath, Limerick, and others; and though Dowdal of Armagh, who had been promoted to the archiepiscopal see by King Henry, in opposition to Waucop, the pope's nominee, became a violent supporter of the privileges of Rome and the ancient worship, his opposition would not greatly have impeded the progress of the reformation, if the affairs of Ireland, at this important period, had been administered with ordinary judgment.

O'Neil, the newly created Earl of Tyrone, became alarmed at the proceedings of the officers of the crown in Ireland, who had managed to appropriate to themselves the two counties of Leix and O'Fally; and shocked by the sacking of the churches, a measure which violently offended his prejudices, though, perhaps, it did not disturb his religion, of which he was supposed to have no great share, he did not hesitate openly to declare his discontent at what had occurred: the effect was his immediate relapse to the church of Rome. His example was followed by the other great Irish lords who

had embraced the reformation, and by many of the Anglo-Irish nobles of the Pale.

O'Neil had been greatly influenced, in breaking with the new government and the new religion, by the persuasions of his eldest son John, or Shane, O'Neil, and his second son Hugh. Shane, now grown into manhood, began to display considerable activity and abilities, and promised to be an able leader of his sept. His first measure was to induce his father to displace his natural son Matthew, whom he had intended to be his successor in the chiefry, according to the custom of the Irish, who made little distinction between children of legitimate or illegitimate birth, and accounted priority of age as giving no preference. Matthew, at the instance of his father had, been created Baron of Duncannon, by Henry the Eighth, and had been publicly recognised as successor to the titles and possessions of the O'Neil. But the superior abilities displayed by Shane turned the eyes of the sept upon him, and induced his father to change his intentions with regard to the succession, in favour of his eldest and legitimate son.

These movements in the great family of the O'Neil, created some uneasiness in the government of the Pale. The lord deputy, with great want of judgment, and with some want of faith, concerted a scheme for seizing the person of the

old earl, and conveying him to Dublin. The scheme succeeded; and the effect was to throw the whole power of this great chiefry into the hands of Shane, the young and intrepid leader of his clansmen. Shane instantly declared war against the deputy, and his brother Matthew, the latter of whom he accused of having betrayed his father into the hands of the English governor.

Matthew collected a few followers, and the deputy joined him with the forces of the Pale; but Shane, who probably was a superior commander to either, having secured the co-operation of a body of roving Scots, suddenly marched to meet the British general, gave battle, and obtained a complete victory. The British were reinforced, and the command transferred to Sir James Crofts, esteemed an officer of experience and ability. But the genius of Shane O'Neil still triumphed; and, in repeated and sanguinary conflicts, he was uniformly victorious.

While the petty territory of the Pale was pressed upon the north by the victorious arms of young O'Neil, and threatened on the south by the exasperated resentments of the O'Moores and O'Connors, and everywhere distracted by religious dissensions, Edward the Sixth died.

CHAP. VI.

THE successes of Shane O'Neil had an evil influence upon the cause of the reformation in Ireland, as almost every event of the short reign of Edward seems to have had; and the death of the king completed the ruin of those prospects, which promised so fair in the latter years of his father's reign.

The accession of Mary blotted out the small share of Protestantism which lingered in the country. The officers of state found no difficulty in conforming to the religion of the crown, and making public and solemn avowal of their late errors. The same persons were employed to re-establish the Romish worship, who had been, under Edward, actively engaged in suppressing it. They had now the benefit of a double experience, in setting up and pulling down creeds. Some of the clergy who had been too easily convinced of the truth of a dominant and state-supported religion, became now suddenly sensible of the mistake they had made, and were reconciled to the church of Rome. Some had unfortunately carried their convictions into the bosom of beauty, and had taken wives. For

these there was no retreat. It is easy to put off a religion, but somewhat more difficult to get rid of a wife. These unlucky churchmen were deprived of their benefices.

Dowdal of Armagh, who had fled the country to avoid the anger of Edward, returned in triumph, to wreak the full measure of ecclesiastical rage upon his adversaries. Some of his most obnoxious opposers, as Bayle of Ossory, and the Bishop of Limerick, fled before him.

As the reformed faith had made little progress in Ireland, the ancient religion was restored without difficulty or violence. It is much to the credit of the people of Ireland, that, satisfied with a quiet and peaceable restoration of their faith, they, in no instance, persecuted or disturbed those who still thought proper to profess the religion of the reformation, and there were many such. While the fires of a ferocious proscription raged in the sister island, in Ireland the Protestants enjoyed their opinions in full security and peace; and numbers fled from persecution in England, to find freedom and protection amongst a people, whom they considered as almost savage, and blindly devoted to the worst of superstitions. . Neither in this reign, nor afterwards in that of James the Second, when the religion of the church of Rome was triumphant, did the Catholics of Ireland persecute or proscribe on account of religion. A

rare merit; and which proves that neither superstition nor fanaticism had wholly blotted out all religious principle, nor the misfortunes of the nation extinguished entirely the natural kindness of the Irish people.

The chief events of Mary's reign, beside the re-establishment of the religion of Rome, were the calling of a parliament, and the settlement of the two districts of Leix and O'Fally, into two counties, under the names of King's and Queen's counties, in compliment to Mary and her husband, Philip of Spain. The *settlement* of the new counties was accompanied with great severities towards the ancient inhabitants of those districts. The Tainists O'Moore and O'Connor had been expelled and imprisoned in the former reign; but the sub-feudataries of these chiefs, and the actual tillers of the soil, claimed titles in their own right, which their superior lords had not power to alienate or forfeit. They urged that the superior lord could only forfeit that which was his. But this argument, however just it appears at this day, seemed utterly untenable to those who were anxious that no title of any kind should stand in the way of their newly acquired possessions. They supported their view of the case by a considerable military force; and the population of the two counties, unwilling to relinquish their lands, were subjected to military execution. A

general massacre took place of those devoted clans. Thus Mary maintained her character of *sanguinary;* she slew her Catholic subjects of Ireland for their lands, and her Protestant people of England for their religion.

A parliament had not sat in the Pale for thirteen years previous to this period. It was now deemed a fitting occasion to call together that assembly, in order to regulate the affairs of the re-established church, and to sanction the proceedings which had taken place relative to the new counties. The new parliament met in June, 1556. They acknowledged the queen's title, and that of the pope. They repealed all acts since the twentieth of Henry the Eighth, in restriction of the power or pretensions of His Holiness. They restored the church lands and other profits, which had been anciently paid to the church, and had been seized into the possession of the crown in the two former reigns: but their piety did not extend to the restoration of church lands or tithes, granted by the crown to individuals of their own body. These were permitted to remain with the grantees; and the church was too prudent to insist upon restitution, satisfied with having got tolerably well out of a very awkward business; and perhaps somewhat afraid that a demand of these lands might produce an inconvenient leaning to Protestantism in minds whose religious con-

victions seemed oddly affected by the weight of acres.

A subsidy was granted to the queen to enable herto expel the Scotch out of Ireland; and it was declared high treason to invite them into the country, and felony to intermarry with them. The Scotch had been found very troublesome in Shane O'Neil's late wars. This chief always entertained a considerable body of these auxiliaries. They came chiefly from the islands, and were at the service of any one who could afford to feed them; but their principal connection was with the O'Neil family. At a subsequent period, these needy adventurers of the sword increased in consequence, and acted a more distinguished part in the north of Ireland.

By another act of Mary's parliament, the celebrated law called Poyning's law was explained and defined, that in future there might be no ground of mistake relative to an enactment of so much consequence. It was declared, that no parliament should thereafter be holden in Ireland, unless the chief governor and council certified to the crown the causes of holding the same, and the considerations which were to be submitted, and the laws that were to be proposed to parliament; and that no act could be proposed or enacted in the Irish parliament, but such as had previously been transmitted to the

king and council, and approved by them, and returned under the great seal of England.

This important law continued, down to a very late period, to be considered by English statesmen as the great bond of connection between the two countries. But such a bond was not necessary while Ireland was weak; her very weakness secured her dependency: and when she became strong, it was evident, as the fact proved, that she would not bear it. It served, for a long period, to check the improvement of the country, and this seems to have been its chief operation. Even James the Second, when in Ireland, and in a state of entire dependency upon the Irish nation, and while William wore the crown of England, clung to this law, and would not forego it.

CHAP. VII.

ELIZABETH was now on the throne, and those events were about to be developed which have made her reign one of the most remarkable in Irish history, — not for wisdom in government; not for lenity or humanity in executing judgment; not for temperance or discretion in fitting the law to the subject of it, and evolving the greatest amount of good with the least possible instrumentality of evil. The aspect of the queen, even in the outset of her government, was harsh and severe towards her Irish subjects, and little calculated to win their affections to her throne.

Her first measures were of a nature to defeat the ends which apparently she had in view. We must suppose, and there is no reason to doubt it, that she must have intended the peace and security of her realm of Ireland; but her first step, and all her subsequent measures, tended to irritate and exasperate the people of that country, until their discontent issued in a war, or a series of wars, that exhausted the finances of England, exposed both countries to

foreign interferences and invasions, and embittered the queen's life, even to her last hour. Her death-bed was afflictingly disturbed by the troubles of Ireland, and was denied the consolation which the final conclusion of the peace might have afforded.

The queen, though, like her father, a tyrant in disposition, seems less to have understood the character of the people upon whom her natural inclination to despotism was to be exercised. Accustomed from the beginning to absolute rule, and to submit to no control in England, she was surprised to find her authority disputed, and her power resisted, in a country which she looked upon as so inferior in every respect. She did not consider, that the leading measure of her reign, the re-establishment of Protestantism, which was the foundation of her power in England, and met the concurrence of the people of that country, encountered the determined resistance of the people of Ireland.

It was this inaptness of the measures of the queen, — her mistakes and misgovernment, which, by leading to a war almost of extermination, and, since the first annexation of Ireland to the British crown, embracing the whole kingdom, that changed the face of that country, and led to a new, but, we hardly think, a happier order of things.

The queen, if she had not the wisdom of her

ancestors, had the energy of her race, and waged the war with invincible constancy, which her rigour and obstinacy provoked. She was not of a spirit to yield to fortune, or to be subdued by her own errors.

The efforts which Elizabeth made in the prosecution of her Irish wars were prodigious for that period, and could only be sustained by the spring-tide of wealth and population which was then rising in England. Elizabeth ascended the throne at a period when the nation began to feel the consciousness of strength, and was proud of the position which the boldness and decision of the queen's character led her to take, as head of the Protestant interest in Europe. This step was the glory of Elizabeth's reign; her administration in Ireland its reproach.

The first measure of Elizabeth's reign was the re-establishment of Protestantism in England. The same measure was to be accomplished in Ireland; and, as far as the mere ceremonial of re-establishment, it might have been established almost with as much ease.

We have shown, that the events of Edward's reign were unfavourable to the cause of Protestantism in Ireland, and that those of Mary's were not less so, though of an opposite character. It required, therefore, an uncommon degree of prudence and sagacity, in taking the subject again in hand, under circumstances so dis-

couraging. A little consideration might have shown the queen, that the Irish had ever yielded to a small degree of flattery and kindness, but that they had never been conquered by force of arms; and that a rule of policy, to which even her father, of ferocious memory, had submitted, could not be disparaging to a female monarch.

Henry had courted, soothed, and temporised with his Irish subjects, in order to win them to Protestantism. Elizabeth took another course, and made a bold attempt to compel them to the adoption of the new creed.

A parliament was summoned for the avowed purpose of establishing the queen's religion, and abrogating that of her sister. Elizabeth's parliament in England had been found as obsequious as Mary's. In Ireland some greater difficulty was experienced. The ancient Irish were now thoroughly disgusted with the reformation; and the Anglo-Irish, whose families had been long settled in the country felt the same dislike towards a religion for which they had not been at all prepared. Both these classes of British subjects enjoyed a degree of power and independence in their own country which was unknown to the highest and greatest of the nobility of England. They had been used to question, and often to treat with utter disregard, the mandates of the crown relative to the affairs of Ireland;

and it frequently happened, that this contempt of the regal authority was fully justified by the total ignorance of the circumstances of the country, in which the measures of the government in England often originated.

The pride of the Irish lords, of pure Irish or Anglo-Irish descent, was in proportion to their power, and to their independence of the British government; and they were more disposed to quarrel with a religion than to support it, which was to be established by a naked and despotic ordinance of the crown, rather than through their instrumentality who were the real depositaries of power in Ireland. Their distaste for the new doctrine was increased by their contempt of its professors. These were almost solely the new English, as they were sometimes called, or the officers of the crown in Ireland, and the adventurers who flocked into the country in search of wealth or employment. These men were seen to change their religion without shame or hesitation, according as the crown commanded,—from the pope's to King Henry's, from Henry's and Edward's to Mary's, and from Mary's to Elizabeth's: this facility of conscience increased the contempt and dislike which the great lords of Anglo-Irish race always entertained for the new English, and added to their disgust for a religion connected with so much meanness and hypocrisy.

Nor did the conduct of the first Protestant clergy at all tend to recommend their religion to the Irish people. These, like the civil servants of the crown, seemed to possess a wonderful facility of belief. With a criminal and shocking mockery of Divine Providence they were seen upon every change of faith by order of the crown or act of parliament, addressing their prayers to heaven with all the forms and solemnities of worship, and calling at one time for blessings, and at another for curses, upon the same forms and modes of religion.

In England the piety of the reformed clergy had contrasted favourably with the corruptions of the old establishment. In Ireland the contrast was the other way: the new clergy, with some few exceptions, were needy and unprincipled adventurers, whose sole object was the profits of their benefices; and who were both careless and incapable of the duties they had undertaken to perform.

The Roman church in Ireland, at the time of the reformation, was not corrupted in the same degree as in England and on the Continent. The clergy had sunk into great ignorance, nor were their morals altogether pure; but the disorders of the country, and the habits of the people, made slight deviations from a strict rule of morals be looked upon as very venial offences, especially as the discipline of Rome had been forcibly

imposed upon the church of Ireland, and never fully submitted to. In learning, whatever might be the deficiency of the clergy, they still held a rank superior to the majority of the laity around them. They practised no deceptions upon the people, and are accused of few of the quackeries by which the adherents of the church of Rome maintained their power in other countries.

Elizabeth's parliament met in January 1560. This assembly embraced by representation (if it could be so called) a greater portion of the kingdom than former parliaments of the Pale. Ten counties were represented, and a few towns in various parts of Ireland. The whole number of the commons were seventy-six. It might be a question whether such an assembly, bearing the imposing name of parliament, could bind Ireland? But though less than a third of the kingdom was represented, it was notorious that even in this third, the crown, for the most part, nominated the members, and that the forms of election were as yet in Ireland a mere mockery. The forms of the British constitution were only known within the territory of the Pale, and very imperfectly there. Beyond this small district nothing was understood of the forms or the spirit of that celebrated constitution.

Notwithstanding much management on the part of the Lord Deputy Sussex, the queen's bills for the re-establishment of the reformed

worship were not passed without great opposition. But they were at length passed, and the parliament was then hastily dissolved. Queen Mary's acts were reversed as she had reversed King Henry's; the supremacy and ecclesiastical jurisdiction were restored to the crown; and the first fruits and twentieths of church revenues. The most objectionable part of this reformation was the act which compelled the people of all persuasions to attend the service of the church of England, under severe penalties. This act, at subsequent periods, became an instrument of grievous oppression in Ireland; at the time of its enactment it only evinced the summary mode in which the queen intended to convert her Irish subjects.

This act informs us of a curious dilemma, in which the founders of the reformation in Ireland were placed. The service of the church of England, which the people were now commanded to attend, was in English; that of the church of Rome was in Latin. The people were equally strangers to both languages. But the principle of the Reformation required that the congregation should *understand* the service of the church. English was not the spoken language in any part of Ireland outside the walls of Dublin. The English colonists had every where adopted the language of the country, and even in the Pale, Irish was the universal tongue: the

English was used in Dublin only, and there but partially.

There was no way of getting out of this difficulty, except by reading the service in the Irish language: but here another difficulty occurred; nine-tenths of the reformed clergy were strangers from England, who were totally ignorant of the language of their congregations. In this confusion of tongues the act permitted the service of the church to be read in Latin; a language which the practice of Rome had consecrated to divine worship. And, perhaps, it was imagined that, by means of the similarity of the service in this particular, the people might be reconciled to the novelty of the new worship.

A more extaordinary anomaly cannot be imagined than the reformed church of Ireland now presented. The word CHURCH, indeed, cannot be correctly applied to a mere clergy without congregations; and who, with a strange disregard for all fitness and propriety, were selected from among strangers whom the Irish looked upon with prejudice, and from whom they would hardly receive the truth, even if they could understand it. Between the new clergy and their flocks, there was the prejudice of nation, which was common to both, and created a mutual and strong dislike; and there was the impossibility of communication, neither understanding the language of the other.

The consequence was, that the people revolted from a religion which recommended itself to them by no other means than pains, and penalties, and acts of parliament. The new clergy contented themselves with taking the profits of their benefices in such parts of the country as the law could be enforced in. In general their appointments were merely nominal, as, in most parts of Ireland, they dared not venture to show themselves in their dioceses or parishes, and they obtained only occasionally a scanty and scrambled support when they visited their flocks in the train of some military expedition, or as humble dependents of some powerful nobleman.

The old clergy maintained their ground; and in most places continued to receive the profits of their livings, which long habit had legalised. But they were occasionally visited by the vengeance of the law, especially in those parts of Ireland bordering upon the seat of British power.

The law, as it now stood in Ireland had no relation whatever to the exigencies or circumstances of the country; it was an imposition of mere force and caprice; and though it was a dead letter as to most parts of the kingdom, because to execute it was not possible, still it was capable of extension to the whole surface of the country, according as the power of the crown might gain strength for its enforcement.

It was the duty of the crown to promote the

improvement of religion in Ireland, and probably the intentions of the queen towards her Irish subjects were just and good; but the means she employed were most unfortunate and highly objectionable.

The great error of this reign was the violence used in forcing the religion and constitution of England upon a people unprepared for either. This was, in some degree, the error of former reigns also, but until the accession of Elizabeth it was not pressed with much earnestness.

Shane O'Neil, who had put himself in possession of the chiefry of the North, and had set the British power at defiance in the former reign, still continued to maintain an attitude very formidable to the government of the Pale. It was humiliating to the sovereignty of the British crown, that this proud chieftain should set aside, with so much contempt, the deliberate arrangements made by king Henry respecting the succession in this powerful family. Sir Henry Sidney, who commanded for the Lord Deputy Sussex, was ordered to summon O'Neil before him, and to remonstrate upon this proceeding.

Sidney collected some forces, and proceeded northwards to Dundalk, where he halted and sent a summons to O'Neil, commanding his attendance. O'Neil replied in a letter full of politeness towards the deputy, and of duty to the queen, and requested that the former would honour him

with his presence at his castle, and be sponsor to his child, the ceremony of whose baptism, according to the customs of the Irish, made it impossible for him to have the pleasure of waiting upon the deputy in his quarters, — and entreated his excuse.

This evasion of O'Neil's cannot be blamed, when it is recollected that his father was entrapped by a former deputy, and kept prisoner till his death; and that O'Moore and O'Connor were but lately treated with still more rigour, and equal breach of faith.

As O'Neil would not obey the deputy's summons, the deputy was forced to comply with his. He waited upon the chief at his castle, and was magnificently entertained. When the ceremonial of the baptism was over, Sidney entered upon the business of his visit, by remonstrating with O'Neil upon his conduct towards his brother Matthew, Baron of Dungannon.

O'Neil acknowledged with perfect composure, that he had dispossessed his brother Matthew. He denied that the King of England had power to confer the principality of the North, which was elective in his family. He stated that he had been duly elected tanist by the lords and vassals of Ulster, that this was his title, and had been the title of his ancestors for thousands of years; that even, according to the English law, his brother Matthew was disqualified, being illegi-

timate, and if that impediment were removed, could yet have no title to the succession, without an inquisition duly taken of all the lands and territories to which he laid claim, and there had been no such inquisition taken.

There was too much reason and good sense in this defence to admit of an easy reply. Sidney did not attempt it. He merely said, that O'Neil's argument involved matters which were proper to be referred to the crown; and, in the mean time, he advised him strongly to preserve his allegiance unsullied. O'Neil had no difficulty in promising this, and the conference broke up.

But the English of the Pale, who lived in constant terror of this powerful chief, were by no means satisfied with the result of this conference. Some military movements which O'Neil made shortly after, against several of his own vassal lords, excited great terror, and a fort which he built and called *Foogh-na-gall* (the Terror of the Stranger), was considered very alarming, especially the name.

The deputy Sussex was ordered to march into the North, and ascertain the nature of these dangerous proceedings. O'Neil, nothing alarmed, collected his forces, and marched to meet the deputy. Neither party were probably disposed to fight. By the mediation of the Earl of Kildare, overtures were made on each side

towards accommodation, and a conference was opened, in which, as usual, O'Neil had the advantage. He declared that he had not invaded the British frontier; and he denied the right of the crown to interfere between him and his vassals. The deputy acknowledged his title as tanist, and held out hopes that the letters patent to his brother Matthew would be revoked, and the earldom of Tyrone confirmed to Shane and his heirs.

In order to confirm his peace with the queen, O'Neil proposed to repair to London, and attend her Majesty at her court; and relying, perhaps, upon the personal character of Sussex, he made no difficulty, upon this occasion, of accompanying him to Dublin. Here he soon had reason to suspect some scheme for seizing his person to be in agitation, and he hastened his departure to London. It is probable, that the deputy might have found it difficult to resist a proposition so tempting, and of such frequent practice. An opportunity of *catching* an Irish chief had seldom been omitted; and O'Neil would have been game of the highest order.

Whether the danger were real or imaginary, O'Neil did not wait to investigate: he hurried his preparations to attend the queen, and soon appeared in London, at the head of a train which excited no little astonishment in that great city. He was attended by his chosen guard of gallow-

glasses, men of great stature and beauty, armed and clothed in the richest manner, according to the fashion of their country. These guards wore a light armour, with sabre and battle-axe. Their dress consisted of a profusion of linen, swathed round the person, and dyed of a saffron colour. The head was bare, and the hair long and flowing. The effect of this novel spectacle in London did credit to the bold experiment of the chief in appearing as a sovereign prince at the court of England.

The people were delighted with this specimen of genuine wild Irish, whom they had heard so much of. The queen herself was pleased with the romance of the affair; and the leader of so strange and so noble a train could not but be an interesting personage. The queen received the Irish lord with more than condescension and favour; her conduct towards him wore the aspect of kindness and partiality; and that he was able to cultivate and confirm those dispositions towards him in the mind of the sovereign, is no proof of the rudeness and barbarity which some of the vulgar writers of that period charge upon this powerful tanist.

He is represented as making the most profound submissions to the queen, stating the nature of his title and tenure as tanist, which he could not put off without dishonour, and which did not permit him to acknowledge the claims of

his brother Matthew; nor would his acknowledgment be of any avail to establish Matthew's title, as the people of Ulster would not admit it. He showed the necessity he was under, as well in reference to his own dignity as with a view to the public peace, to maintain his authority over his own vassals. He offered to prove, by unquestionable evidence, that in every instance in which he had opposed the queen's officers, he had been compelled to take arms by injuries or insults, by which it was intended to embroil him with her majesty, and sometimes by practices against his life, which were contrived by persons who were impatient for the confiscation of Ulster.

This is represented by the old writers as an artful and specious address, and as having, by its apparent truth and simplicity, completely captivated the queen: but none of these writers attempt to deny the truth of these statements, which was not only apparent but real. There can be little doubt that it was the full conviction of the truth of O'Neil's representations which had the chief effect upon the queen. However likely to be captivated by exterior and talent, she was a woman of too strong mind to be wholly under the influence of these.

O'Neil, on his return to Ireland, in performance of the service exacted from him by the crown, and as proof of his obedience and recon-

ciliation, broke his ancient treaties with the Scots and declared war against those invaders, who had ever been his most faithful allies. The queen expressed her entire satisfaction at this war, by which O'Neil completely broke the power of the Scots in Ulster, and drove them out of the kingdom with great slaughter.

By this important service rendered to the crown, the Irish prince gave stronger proof of his allegiance than of his prudence. He had destroyed his own allies, but he had not made friends of the Irish government. The officers of the crown in Ireland continued to weary the ear of the queen with representations of the *designs* and *intentions* of the northern chief. The queen replied, that if he were really to take arms against the state, it would be only so much the better for her servants in Ireland, as "there would then be estates for them all." This vision of great northern estates seems to have been incessantly before the eyes of the members of the queen's government in Ireland; and there is reason to think that the project of stationing an English garrison in Derry, in the heart of O'Neil's country, which was carried into effect at this time, was intended to provoke the proud chief to hostilities.

The garrison of Derry was mortifying to O'Neil's pride, and calculated to lessen his importance with his followers, who naturally ex-

pected that the footing upon which he stood with the queen would entitle him to the command of any forces of hers stationed within his district.

Nothing had occurred since his treaty with the queen to render such a step necessary; on the contrary, the chief had faithfully performed his engagement with respect to the Scots, and had carefully abstained from any collision with the queen's officers.

O'Neil seems to have determined, as probably had been foreseen, upon removing the garrison of Derry at every risk; and the sequel proved that it was not without reason that he came to this resolution. With his usual address he endeavoured to provoke the garrison to the first acts of aggression, and succeeded. The war was thus commenced. And O'Neil soon found that the lord deputy had not been idle in preparing for it, and that he had turned to good account the convenience of his position in Derry. He had practised successfully with O'Donnel of Tirconnel, and M'Guire of Fermanagh, and engaged both these chiefs, who complained of injuries, or were jealous of the power of O'Neil, in a confederacy against that lord.

O'Neil's exertions seem to have been equal to his danger. As a set-off against the deputy's success with M'Guire and O'Donnell, he endeavoured to create a diversion in the south, by

rousing Desmond and M'Carty More to arms. He despatched agents to the court of Spain and Rome; and to prove his devotion to the Catholic faith, which had been questioned amongst his followers, in consequence of his treaty with the queen, he took Armagh by assault, and burned down the church where the reformed worship had been celebrated. But the measures of the deputy had been well taken; and though O'Neil defended himself with his usual ability, he was unable to resist the combination which had been formed against him, and which there was not now time to concert means of opposing by a similar combination. His southern allies were not prepared to take the field, and Spain and Rome were too slow and distant for the present emergency.

When pressed to extremity, O'Neil sought to renew his old alliances with the Scots. A small body of these hardy soldiers were then encamped in Ulster, under their chief Clan-huboy. O'Neil sent to announce, that he was about to visit the camp of his old ally, and to enquire whether he should be welcome? The answer was favourable, and O'Neil instantly set forward, attended only by about fifty horse and some servants, for the Scottish camp.

When the British garrison had been stationed in Derry, a man of the name of Piers had been placed there by the deputy, whose occupation seems to have been very various. He appears

to have been the chief agent in the intrigues which forced O'Neil into the war, and which, by exciting the neighbouring chieftains against him, contributed to his defeat. This person had immediate information of O'Neil's intended visit to Clan-huboy, and he lost no time in being before hand with the Irish lord. He waited upon Clan-huboy himself, and found means to convince the Scottish chief, that it would be for his interest to betray his guest. He reminded him of the dreadful slaughter which O'Neil had so lately made of the Scotch, and the injuries which Clan-huboy's own family had sustained at his hands. Piers prevailed; and the Scotsman, induced partly by the prospect of reward, and partly by revenge, agreed to deliver up his guest to be assassinated.

At an entertainment given to the Irish lord and his followers by the Scotch chief, a quarrel, which had been preconcerted, was brought about with O'Neil's attendants. On a signal given the banquet room was filled with soldiers, and all the Irish were slain.

This assassination, the contrivance of Piers, who disgraced the character of a British officer, proves, that it was not without reason that O'Neil was so impatient of the garrison of Derry, and that there was some foundation for his complaint to the queen, that he had difficulty in defending his life against the snares of her servants in Ireland.

The old writers who have treated of this portion of Irish history, have chosen to measure O'Neil's conduct, by the rules which apply to the case of an ordinary British subject, and merely to regard him as a nobleman of great power, but standing precisely in the same condition in relation to the crown as any peer of England. But this is a mistake: the allegiance which O'Neil and the other Irish princes, or nobles, acknowledged, was of quite another character. It was in all respects the same which the electoral princes of Germany lately acknowledged towards the head of the German empire. A slight inspection of the numerous treaties upon record, made between the kings of England and the Irish princes, down to the reign of Elizabeth, would show the nature of the allegiance which they professed to bear to the British crown, and would exonerate them from those charges of turbulence and rebellion which are so lightly made.

In those treaties, these chiefs are recognized as sovereign princes by the title of REX; and by the regal power which they claimed to exercise.

Down to the period we treat of, their sovereignty was frequently recognised by the government of the Pale, in the substantial form of tribute, exacted by the O'Moores, O'Neils, and other powerful chiefs, for the protection they afforded the colony in its periods of weakness.

CHAP. VIII.

PIERS received a thousand marks from the government as the price of this murder. O'Neil's head was sent to Dublin; and the lord deputy, thus satisfied of his death, marched without delay and without opposition into the territory of Tirowen. He nominated an old man of the family of O'Neil, of weak character and mild manners, to the chiefry, to prevent, if possible, by this contrivance any attempt on the part of the clan to set up a more able chief; or, in such a case, to weaken them by division.

Thus successful in the north, the queen's officers turned their attention to the southern provinces, where a chief almost as powerful as Shane O'Neil was the object of nearly similar jealousies. Fitzgerald of Desmond was the most powerful nobleman of the great family of his name: descended from the noble stock of the first British adventurers into Ireland, he united the privileges of Irish chief and British peer; his territories were richer, and almost as extensive as those of O'Neil of Ulster, comprising very large portions of the counties of Cork, Kerry, Limerick, and Waterford. The analogies

of the cases of O'Neil and Desmond were further sustained in the feuds of the latter with the powerful family of the Butlers of Kilkenny, as in the instance of the former, with M'Guire and O'Donnel.

But there was little resemblance between the two men. O'Neil was a man of consummate ability and address; Desmond was merely frank, brave, and proud. Lord Ormond, though inferior in wealth and territory, was more than a match for the earl of Desmond in skill and talent. Their disputes, which arose originally upon some questions relating to boundary, were proposed to be referred to the lord deputy, who decided first for Desmond; secondly, on learning that Ormond had the ear of the queen, he reversed his decision in favour of the latter nobleman. Desmond complained of injustice, and refused to submit to the award; and Sidney, apprehensive of the consequences of his discontent, laid a plan to seize his person, and succeeded.

Desmond now entreated leave to attend the queen in England, and her majesty graciously granted permission; but on his arrival in London, the earl and his two brothers were committed close prisoners to the Tower, and were not released for several years.

The death of O'Neil and the imprisonment of Desmond seemed to afford the opportunity that

was long wished for, to divide the spoil of one or both those great proprietors; for this purpose a parliament was an indispensable instrument.

The seizure of the earl of Desmond, the vastly increasing numbers of new adventurers from England, and the preference shown to them over the old colonists, in the distribution of all places of power or profit, had created considerable discontent among the Anglo-Irish; and when the calling of a parliament was announced, they prepared to show their dissatisfaction by a steady opposition to the measures of government.

The lord deputy on his side was not idle in preparing to encounter this threatened hostility, and had recourse to practices, the palpable grossness of which, in a constitutional view, prove the absence of all control of public opinion in Ireland at this period, even within the small territory of the Pale. Many sheriffs and magistrates of towns returned themselves; a considerable number of Englishmen, all new and greedy adventurers, were returned for places they had never seen or heard of, and where the returning officer was the sole constituent.

When parliament met, considerable clamour and collision took place; but the houses were at length soothed into good humour, and proceeded willingly in a work equally acceptable to the old and new English, the attainder of Shane O'Neil, and the confiscation of his great posses-

sions, which were vested in the crown; some other acts of small moment passed, after a considerable degree of opposition, and the parliament was adjourned.

More than half of Ulster had accrued to the crown by the attainder of O'Neil; but the pacification of the kingdom, which was expected to follow the death of this chieftain, had not taken place, neither had the removal of Lord Desmond from the south in any degree promoted the tranquillity of that portion of the island; the whole country never presented a greater scene of tumult and disturbance than now, that all the objects of the local government seemed attained; and the misfortune was, that those disturbances being infinite in number, though inconsiderable in kind, seemed incapable of cure or remedy.

The policy of the government seemed to be to remove the great lords, and the effect was not the *civility* which was expected, but anarchy. The control of the great lords being removed, universal disorder followed. A wise government would have made those lords the instruments of introducing civility, as it was called, that is, the laws and customs of England.

It was not wonderful, therefore, that having cut off the only channels of communication with the population of the country, the government found itself without the power of acting upon society with effect.

Various grants were made of the lands of Tirowan, chiefly to new adventurers from England, the sons and dependents of persons about court. And some of these grantees made vigorous efforts to *settle* their new estates, but in every instance without success. They were mostly frightened out of the country, or cut off by the Irish population; and some of the newly-arrived proprietors from England were secretly opposed and counteracted by individuals in the local government, who thought they had a better right to the spoils of O'Neil, as having contributed to, or contrived his overthrow.

The activity of Elizabeth's government in Ireland, and the character of that activity, directed chiefly against the power of the great nobles, a system countenanced by the queen, and which fell in with the views of her servants and officers in Ireland, could not fail to be attended with great expense. The profit of this course of policy went exclusively to the new adventurers, who zealously promoted it; the expense fell upon the crown and the nation.

To meet the increasing expenses of government, Sir Henry Sidney devised a plan for raising assessments upon the county generally, somewhat in the manner of a county rate, but imposed by authority of the crown. This attempt to push the queen's prerogative was met by the most determined resistance on the part of

the whole nation, Irish and Anglo-Irish. They resolutely refused to pay the assessment, and denied the right of the queen or her deputy to impose any tax in Ireland without the authority of parliament.

The queen was surprised and greatly offended by the tone of this opposition. It was evident that she and her subjects of the Pale did not understand each other: the latter were very willing to use the queen as an ally in their aggressions upon the old Irish, but had no notion of permitting her majesty to make aggressions upon themselves. The queen, on the other hand, accustomed to use an almost despotic prerogative in England, concluded that in so rude and uncultivated a province of her empire, as she considered Ireland to be, her power must be still more absolute and unquestioned. The contrary, however, was the fact; the power of the crown was little regarded in Ireland, except as an instrument in the hands of the new or old English of the Pale for their own purposes. The Anglo-Irish took fire at the very mention of the word prerogative, and treated it with scorn.

The deputy was, however, committed to his scheme of finance; and, finding him obstinate, the lords of the Pale sent agents to London to lay their remonstrances before the queen. The imperious princess sent the agents to the Fleet

on their arrival, and afterwards to the Tower; and directed the deputy that he should commit all those who had signed the remonstrance prisoners to the castle of Dublin. But her subjects in Ireland were merely irritated, not dismayed by those proceedings on the part of her majesty; they knew their power; the assessment was not collected, and finally the queen was forced to yield, and shelter her dignity under cover of a compromise. The Irish acknowledged that they had not been sufficiently dutiful in the *manner* of their remonstrance to the throne, and the subject was suffered to drop.

Elizabeth had seen her error very speedily, and with the good sense which formed the basis of her character, lost no time in repairing the mischief. She was aware that the Continent resounded with a murmur of intrigue and preparation against her throne and power. The cabinets of Rome, Paris, and Madrid, were busily employed in contriving schemes of war and invasion; all turned their eyes to Ireland, the seat of British weakness and discontent. The courts of the hostile powers were crowded with Irish of rank, who had been forced by their own misconduct or the persecutions of the state to quit their country, and had been converted into implacable foes to British connection.

But though many schemes of invasion were projected, and some of them executed, they were all of a description which could only insure failure. One of these military expeditions, fitted out by Spain, and led by one of the Desmond family, consisted of no more than eighty or ninety men, who landed upon the coast of Kerry, and were joined by about an equal number of the retainers of that family.

Trifling as this invasion was, it was a spark fallen in the midst of combustible matter, which called for the utmost activity to extinguish. The entire amount of the royal army, which the lord deputy was able to muster upon this occasion, did not exceed three to four hundred men; but this was enough, as long as the great chieftains took no part.

The Earl of Desmond, who had been but a short time released from his long and unjust imprisonment in the tower of London, and had but made his escape from a subsequent imprisonment, without colour of law or justice, in Dublin, was now in his county palatine of Kerry, but took no part in the dangerous enterprise in which his brothers were engaged. The Earl of Clancarty, head of the great family of M'Carty, offered his services to expel the invaders. The De Burgos of Connaught refused to countenance or support them. Thus abandoned, the little band of invaders and their Irish allies fought

a hard battle with the royal army, and were defeated.

Though the Earl of Desmond had given no countenance or support to this invasion, he could not escape the suspicion of having favoured it. He was known to have received sufficient cause for discontent, and it could not, therefore, be believed that he was not discontented. Besides, he had taken no active part against the invasion, and his connection with the leaders induced a presumption of approbation.

The Earl felt the weight of the suspicion which attached upon him, and was embarrassed. He had had some correspondence with his brothers, and though when produced it implicated him in no way in the guilt of their designs, it proved a friendly communication. He was commanded by the deputy to join the British camp, and to rely on the queen's mercy for pardon of what was passed. Desmond refused to obey, but still professed the utmost duty and allegiance to the queen.

It is not surprising that a great and proud nobleman, like the Earl of Desmond, who once before had been surprised and captured by a lord deputy, and had spent many years of his life in prison, should hesitate to commit himself again to the good faith of an officer of the queen's. His refusal, however, afforded ground for hostile proceedings against him, and Des-

mond was thus involved in a war with the government. Sir Nicholas Malby, who commanded the queen's forces, marched and took possession of the Earl's town of Rathkeal.

The Earl of Desmond appears to have been a man of great personal courage, but of no moral intrepidity, and quite unequal to guide himself through the perils in which his rank and vast possessions constantly involved him. His great enemy, the Earl of Ormond, resided constantly in England, and had the ear of the queen; and there is no doubt that her majesty was by this means strongly prejudiced against the Lord Desmond; and this prejudice was acted upon by her officers in Ireland, who looked forward to profit by the spoils of the great southern proprietor. The instance of the great northern confiscation served but to whet the appetite of the adventurers.

It is probable enough that Desmond wished well to his brothers' invasion, but he had taken no part; and no one more loudly, and there is reason to believe no one more sincerely, condemned the enormities with which it was stained. His only offence was his refusal to attend the deputy in his camp, a refusal which, in his case, was undoubtedly excuseable.

The war against Desmond was followed up with a barbarity disgraceful to human nature. His vast estates were ravaged with fire and

sword, and the innocent population of the country delivered up to slaughter and to famine. Desmond, reduced to the utmost extremity, offered to surrender and submit to the queen's pleasure. But all accommodation was rejected; and it was hardly any longer concealed, that the Desmond property was considered too great for one proprietor.

Before the termination of this war, another invasion took place from Spain, which, though somewhat more considerable than the former, was too trifling to have any effect on the war in its present advanced stage. This invading force consisted of seven or eight hundred men, who were landed on the coast of Kerry, like the former, and had just time to construct a fort, where they resolved to wait the arrival of the Irish forces, when they found themselves attacked by Lord Grey, now lord deputy. As their position was near the shore, Admiral Winter was able to co-operate with the land forces in their reduction. Their position was found untenable, and they surrendered at discretion. It is painful to tell, that after the Spaniards had laid down their arms, some British companies were marched into the fort, and the Spanish battalions underwent a deliberate *fusilade*: the entire were butchered in cold blood.

There was nothing in this horrible transaction which was not in perfect consistency with the

whole course of the Desmond war. But the massacre of the Spaniards made a noise throughout Europe, and brought a reproach upon the queen's government, which the mere slaughter of her own subjects would never have occasioned. The queen expressed the utmost horror and displeasure at so foul a deed; but none of the agents in the transaction were punished or disgraced.

There are two names implicated in this deed dearer to humanity than her's who then wore the crown of England — Spencer and Raleigh. The former was secretary to Lord Grey, under whose eye, and by whose authority the massacre was committed; the latter commanded at the slaughter. The intellect which lifts men above the age they live in leaves the heart frequently cold and hardened. Raleigh and Spencer were adventurers and speculators in Irish forfeitures; the one was deeply engaged, the other even attempts a defence of the crimes perpetrated in the Desmond persecution.

Grey, who seems to have imbibed a taste for blood in the Desmond war, pursued his career with frequent and horrible murders, committed upon the most distinguished persons and families of the kingdom. His agents in these transactions were profligate Englishmen, who swarmed in all parts of the country, and were volunteers in every guilt and mischief. They were men,

generally, who had fled from their debts, or from the punishment due to their crimes; or they were needy dependents on great families, whose object was to make a fortune on any terms. The cry against Grey's enormities at length became too loud and strong to be any longer unheeded, even by Elizabeth, who cannot be accused at this period of her reign of evincing any weak compassion for her Irish subjects. The deputy was at length removed, and Sir John Perrot appointed to the Irish government.

The Earl of Desmond was dead; he had been surprised in a hut in Kerry, while weary, and reposing himself before the fire. On the alarm of surprise his few companions fled. The earl, who was now an old man, and, perhaps, willing to relinquish life, waited quietly for his executioners. The soldiers entered, and, without knowing who he might be, struck and wounded him. "Spare me, for I am the Earl of Desmond," said the old man; but he was instantly killed, and his head sent to his old rival and antagonist, the Lord Ormond. Thus terminated a feud which commenced in a question concerning title to a few fields of meadow land! Ormond sent the head as a trophy to the queen.

CHAP. IX.

Sir John Perrot was a man of different character from Sidney and Grey. Though tainted with some of the vices of the age he lived in, which was little scrupulous as to the means by which any given end was to be accomplished, he was, in the main, a just and humane governor, and seems to have been a kind and good man. Those qualities were thought to render him a fit instrument for the pacification of Ireland, as the sanguinary propensities of Grey and Sidney had, perhaps, been considered as proper qualifications for the overthrow of the Desmond family, and the reduction of South Munster. Munster was almost wholly depopulated and laid waste, the inhabitants having been indiscriminately put to the sword.

As in the case of the great Ulster confiscation, a parliament was now to be called, to vest the title of the Desmond property in the queen, and enable her Majesty to dispose of it according to her pleasure. The Desmond estates amounted to six hundred thousand acres; and the apportionment of this great property amongst the

numerous body of expectants, was now a matter of the deepest interest.

The parliament assembled in Dublin in April 1585. It was soon manifest that Perrot had no great skill in the management of parliaments. It was much more honestly chosen than that which had been called together on the occasion of O'Neil's forfeiture. It was also somewhat more numerous: several new counties had been laid out since that period, and a few of these returned members to parliament. For the first time, also, some of the most considerable members of both houses were of old Irish families. Cavan sent two of the noble house of O'Reily; Longford was represented by two of the O'Farrells, Clare by the O'Briens; and other counties and towns, in like manner, sent the chiefs of clans to parliament.

In the peers' house, also, a few of the ancient Irish nobility, who had accepted titles from the crown, and some who had not, but who were of noble Irish descent, and of great possessions, appeared for the first time in their places in parliament.

Perrot condemned the queen's system of rooting out the ancient Irish nobility, and was anxious to reconcile this proud aristocracy to the crown, and to put them in a position to defend themselves against the intrigues of rapacious men in office.

But parliament was disposed to no reconcilement with the queen. The dreadful massacres which had been committed by her troops in Munster; the persecution almost to utter extermination of the great family of Desmond, related or connected with almost every noble house in Ireland, and for the almost avowed purpose of seizing its property; — these proceedings had not prepared the houses to receive her Majesty's commands with much humility. They were alarmed at the designs of the crown, and were indignant at the favour shown to the new adventurers from England, to whose councils they attributed the violent and unconstitutional measures of the government.

The old Anglo-Irish nobility of the Pale, who had looked on with great quietness at the destruction of the northern tanist, O'Neil, were not disposed to view the proceedings against the Earl of Desmond as equally defensible. These were now the most resolute in their opposition to the crown. All the bills proposed by government were rejected; even those which provided for the ordinary subsidies were negatived. Two bills only, of no great moment, were suffered to pass the commons; and it was then found necessary to dissolve the parliament.

Perrot applied to the crown for those pecuniary resources of which the Irish government was in the greatest need, and which could not

be obtained from parliament: but the queen's finances were in a state of the utmost exhaustion; and her Majesty's ill humour was at least equal to that of her Irish parliament. She could not be prevailed upon to give any assistance to her governor in Ireland.

The justice and moderation of Perrot's government, after a while, produced their natural effect. The deputy became every day more and more popular. The old Irish nobility and gentry were the first to come into his measures, won by a degree of kindness and good faith, to which they had scarcely ever been accustomed. The ancient Anglo-Irish lords were slower to yield to the influence of the deputy's character, but some impression was made upon them also; and at length Sir John thought himself strong enough to propose the grand measure to parliament, which was to vest the great estates of the Desmond family in the crown.

This measure was introduced in the second session of Perrot's administration, and passed, but not even then without great opposition. One hundred and forty of the family and connections of the Earl of Desmond were attainted with him, and all their estates forfeited to the crown.

The opposition made to this attainder by the Anglo-Irish nobility arose from the strong and just apprehension, that in thus becoming parties to the ruin of one of their own body, they were

establishing a precedent, which it would be in the power of the crown, or its rapacious ministers in Ireland, to use hereafter against any of themselves. The whole of the subsequent history of this powerful aristocracy bears ample testimony to the justice of their fears.

It now became apparent, why it was that the queen's ministers had given up the whole south of Ireland to military execution, under colour of prosecuting a war against so incapable a person as the Earl of Desmond. Nearly the whole population of Munster had perished by famine and the sword; and a grand scheme was now announced for the re-peopling of the vacant lands. From thirty to forty new lordships were created and granted at small quit-rents to new adventurers, with conditions that each should *plant* (as it was called) a certain number of English families upon his new estate, and that he should not suffer any Irish to rent or otherwise occupy any part thereof.

The great patronage which this immense forfeiture threw into the hands of the ministers of the crown, gave them a taste for wars and disorders in Ireland, which was long in wearing out, and which, as men find excuses for their worst vices, was sometimes openly avowed, and attempted to be justified by reasons of state. The natural advantages of Ireland in soil and

situation, its rivers, harbours, the genius of its inhabitants — every thing which rendered it invaluable as a portion of the British empire, and made its peace and prosperity the first objects of a British statesman — all were employed as arguments to show that Ireland must be considered as a dangerous rival, which it was the interest of England to weaken by misgovernment, and distract by perpetual disorders.

The queen's ministers had now accomplished the two grand objects of the policy of this reign, the forfeitures of Ulster and Munster. Neither were defensible in principle: in policy they were grievous mistakes; in their consequences they shook the British empire almost to its foundation, and embittered the queen's life, even to her last agony.

The northern plantation had failed entirely. The grantees of the Tirowen territory could not make good their possession, even with all the aid of government. Warned by this difficulty, the southern plantation had been conducted upon a surer principle, as it was supposed, by removing the population. Nevertheless, it was hardly more fortunate; but few of the grantees were enabled to keep possession of their new estates; those who were so successful soon discovered that there was but one mode by which their possession could be secured, and

that was by abandoning the system of plantation, and making terms with the old Irish tenantry, or such remnant of them as could be found.

Enough of Irish had escaped the sword of Lord Grey to make it a very dangerous adventure for any small number of English farmers to set themselves down in the midst of the lands they claimed. The few who attempted it soon abandoned the undertaking, and disposed of their leases, or underlet to the Irish. The grantees of lordships found the Irish tenantry willing enough to admit their title, provided they had the lands upon easy terms, and were protected from military exactions. They saw the necessity of forgetting the queen's instructions concerning English plantations, and of making terms with the old tenantry of the soil; and they were wise enough to adopt this only course by which their estates could be transmitted to their posterity.

Some portion of the Desmond property was regranted to members of that family, and more of it was kept possession of, in defiance of the ordinances of the crown, by those who knew how, without risk of rebellion, to defeat its purposes.

Upon the whole the Desmond forfeiture was a great evil; it shook the whole frame of society in Munster; it unsettled the minds of men. The

old British proprietors felt themselves no longer secure, and the appetite of the new adventurers acquired a dangerous keenness. Time would have broken up the unwieldly possessions of Lord Desmond, and scattered his estates amongst his numerous family, a mode of distribution much more beneficial than that of confiscation. Nothing is of more benefit to a country, or gives more security to the state than antiquity of title. Ancient title is the more precious, because, like ancient timber, at once the wealth and ornament of the land, it is beyond the power of kings or parliaments to create. Some of the branches of the noble house of Desmond, which were fortunately preserved, became in after times, and down to our own day, eminently useful in preserving the peace of the country and the authority of the crown, both of which found their best support in a title admitted and respected by the people.

It was thought necessary at this period to counteract the tendency of Perrot's popular system of government, by vesting a power in his council to control his measures. Their approbation of his plans was made indispensable to their execution; and, as the council leaned to a severe system of government, the effect was a jarring and unsteady movement of the machine of state. The provincial governors, and other

officers of the crown, acted in various parts of the country with great harshness and oppression; and being supported by their partisans in the council, were able to set the authority of the deputy at defiance. Great dissatisfaction prevailed in consequence; but there appeared no man of ability sufficient to concentrate the popular discontent, and direct its power against the state. The De Burgos of Connaught were driven into rebellion by the severities of Bingham, Lord President of that province; but they were easily subdued.

While the kingdom continued in this unsettled state, the agents of Spain were busily employed in preparing the minds of the people for the grand invasion of Great Britain and Ireland, threatened by King Philip; they did not find them ill disposed to any enterprise which promised an escape from the yoke of Elizabeth.

All the measures of the queen's government in Ireland, from the commencement of her reign, comprised a system of vigorous hostility against the old proprietary and the ancient religion of the country. She had made war in Ireland upon the two greatest interests of mankind — their enjoyments in this world, and their hopes in the next.

Philip found the people well inclined to listen to him; they were still sore with the recollection

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of the forfeitures of Desmond and O'Neil, and impatient of the attempts which were constantly making, though as constantly defeated, to plant strangers upon their lands, and a new religion in their churches. The queen was embarrassed. She began to be sensible of the failure of her plans in Ireland, and of the dangers that threatened her in that country. On the continent her perplexities were thickening; and the vast preparations of Spain shook even her intrepid spirit.

The north of Ireland, especially, was in a fearful state of disorder. All the efforts of the crown or the deputy had failed in reducing Ulster to a state of tranquillity, since the attainder of Shane O'Neil. Tirlough O'Neil, who had been nominated to the chiefry by the government, was disowned by the sept, and had no influence with them.

Elizabeth began at length to think, that as she had failed in planting the district of Tirowen, and had been unable to dispose of it by grant, it would be better policy to keep so powerful a sept in obedience to the state by means of a chief, at once acceptable to the people, and faithful to the crown. And as it was evident that the clan would not much longer delay proceeding to fill up by election the vacant tanistry, the sagacious princess resolved that the crown should have at least the appearance of conferring

this high dignity, by favouring the pretensions of some one of the candidates. The candidates were the sons of John or Shane O'Neil, and their cousin the son of Matthew, Baron of Dungannon.

The queen, by advice of the lord deputy, determined in favour of the latter. By this determination the order of succession was restored in the line of Matthew, which had been settled by letters patent of the crown in the reign of Henry the Eighth, and had been broken through by Shane O'Neil with such bold and haughty contempt of the royal authority. Besides, Hugh O'Neil, the son of Matthew, was an officer in her majesty's army, and had served with great distinction in the Desmond war. He had been bred in the very centre of what the queen called *civility*, and was reported to be a man of great accomplishments. As it was, therefore, unavoidable that there should be a tanist in Ulster, Hugh O'Neil was in all respects the most proper choice, and the most likely to preserve his allegiance to the British crown.

O'Neil's first step was to petition parliament to be admitted under the letters patent, granted by King Henry to his father and grandfather, to the title and dignity of earl of Tirowen. His claim was allowed; and, with respect to the possessions annexed to the earldom, he was referred to the queen. By advice of Sir John

Perrot the new earl resolved to attend the queen in England, and prefer his own suit in person.

The spirit of his uncle Shane O'Neil seems to have descended upon Hugh. It is remarkable of this family, which swayed the sceptre of Ireland for so many ages, that, though Providence deprived them of power, it left with them to the last the more glorious inheritance of genius. Unlike his uncle, Hugh attended the court of Elizabeth with the modesty of a British officer, not with the parade of an Irish prince. But his success in recommending himself to the queen was not inferior to his uncle's. His address upon this occasion is said to have been that of the most accomplished courtier. Versed in all the learning of the age, well acquainted with the forms of English society, and thoroughly informed respecting the interests and politics of the various states of Europe, O'Neil was well fitted to make a favourable impression upon a princess of exalted understanding, and delighting, above all things, in the homage of high and noble spirits.

O'Neil admitted the want of English civility amongst his countrymen, and the desirableness of introducing the habits of English life along with the forms of British law and legislation, and promised to do all in his power to promote their introduction. The queen was so well satisfied with the new earl that she went far beyond

her original intentions, and granted him the territory and earldom of Tirowen, without reservation even of quit-rent to the crown, and with no more than some trifling stipulations in favour of old Tirlough and the sons of Shane.

O'Neil returned to Ireland with all the accession of power and importance which the queen's gifts, and, perhaps, her more flattering courtesies conferred. But these procured for him a host of enemies. The new and the old English looked with equal jealousy upon any favour shown to the old Irish; but in this instance the favour shown was particularly embarrassing. The pride and high pretensions of the O'Neils, sustained as they were by the great abilities of that family, were most offensive to the whole tribe of new and old English; except, perhaps, those few of the latter, who were connected with the house of O'Neil, and boasted the noble blood of the Strongbonians. What was more mortifying still, was the sudden destruction of the hopes which every official person in Ireland permitted himself to entertain as long as the spacious district of Tirowen remained under forfeiture and unappropriated.

Some of the queen's attempts at planting the district of Tirowen had been defeated by the contrivance of her own officers, who had little imagined that they were labouring merely to

preserve an estate for a proud Irishman. All this discontent and ill-humour found vent in rumours of O'Neil's disloyalty, hints of his practices in Spain and Rome, and alarming stories of outrages committed upon the neighbouring lords. The whole artillery of reports and insinuations were directed against the new favourite.

O'Neil had the queen's commission to keep on foot six companies of infantry for her majesty's service, of which he had the command. It was said, that by changing the men in these companies frequently, he was training the whole population of the North to arms, and was thus preparing for a great rebellion. At the queen's desire he had undertaken to build a mansion-house for his own residence befitting his rank; and it was reported, that the lead which he imported for the roof of his house was of vast amount, and intended to be cast into bullets for the meditated rebellion. It was evident that these reports were the workings of mere malice, and intended solely to reach the ears of the queen, whose jealousy of any assumptions of power by a subject was known to be excessive. Upon this point, indeed, her majesty seemed invariably to lose all her usual sagacity; no contrivance was too clumsy, or report too absurd, for her belief. A ridiculous instance of this

credulity occurred in the credit she gave to a silly story of Sir John Perrot having made pretensions to royal authority in Ireland; a tale which was attempted to be supported by some foolish forgeries, and was built upon his popularity with the old Irish.

O'Neil had not yet time to prepare a rebellion. But he was fully aware of the enmities by which he was surrounded, and the necessity of being on his guard. The fate of Shane O'Neil, and the more recent catastrophe of Desmond, were before his eyes. He knew that as long as Sir John Perrot continued to administer the government, he was safe; but he could not calculate to what extremity a chief governor like Lord Grey might drive him, if resolved upon his destruction.

Perrot's administration was now drawing towards a close. His enemies in the government had at length triumphed over his constancy, and succeeded in tiring him out. They had long laboured to ruin him with the queen, and would have prevailed, but that it was indispensable to her majesty's affairs to preserve at this juncture the peace of Ireland. And to this end she knew that Perrot's character for justice and humanity was the best means she could employ. But they so far succeeded in exciting the queen's jealousy, that she consented to abridge the power of her deputy, and to make him in a

great measure dependant upon his council. This was a great step. The council were almost all opposed to Perrot's measures.

The principle of Perrot's government was to do justice to the old Irish; to protect them from oppressions and confiscations, and give them their due share of influence and employment in the state. By such a system of government, he was confident that he could preserve the peace of Ireland, and answer for its security without a military establishment.

But Perrot's plan of government was hardly relished by the old English, because it gave them no preference over the mere Irish; and it was thoroughly detested by the new English, whose object was not the peace and improvement of Ireland, but war and confiscation.

The new English party, though they could not prevail with the queen to remove Perrot, had succeeded in weakening his influence with her majesty. His representations were neglected, his complaints were unheeded, and his enemies in the council, feeling the encouragement thus held out, urged their system of insult and annoyance beyond the forbearance of the deputy. He entreated the queen to be recalled. He assured her majesty that he found no difficulty in governing her Irish subjects, but that it was impossible to rule her English servants in Ireland.

The queen yielded to Perrot's wish and the anxious solicitations of his enemies. He was commanded to deliver the sword of state to Sir William Fitz-William; and having done so, he declared that he left the kingdom in peace; and that, now a private man, he would engage to procure, within twenty days, the submission of any chief in Ireland, without employing force of any kind. Such was the confidence which this good man had in the power of his own character for truth and faithfulness.

His departure from Ireland exhibited a scene which has more than once occurred in that country. He was accompanied to the shore by the whole population of Dublin, and by the old Irish of every rank and class, princes and people, all in tears. The grateful recollection of the past, and the fears of the future, pressed heavily upon every heart. Every tongue was loud to acknowledge him as a father and benefactor, and to lament the public loss.

Sir John Perrot's administration was a proof that, even in the worst state of society in Ireland, and nothing could be worse than the state of society in this reign, ordinary justice and common humanity are all that are needed to govern the Irish people. The short experiment which Elizabeth made of this principle of government, confirms the truth of Sir John Davis's testimony: that the Irish love justice so much,

that they will be content with it, even when its decisions press most heavily against themselves.

Perrot's administration was a striking contrast to that which went before and followed after it. Nor does he appear to have departed, except in one instance only, from the strict rule of uprightness and wisdom. But that instance was a remarkable one; and though softened by the kindness of the deputy's character, it did not fail to produce, in some years after, the rank fruit of mischief, which is sown in every evil deed.

The council in Dublin had been alarmed by reports that O'Donnel, chief of Tyrconnel, was preparing to take the field against the queen's government, at a period when the resources of the Pale were in a state of the greatest exhaustion. What course was best to take, was debated with the greatest anxiety — how to intimidate the chief and divert him from his purpose, or what force to oppose to him, — every possible scheme and contrivance were proposed, and all were rejected in despair.

In this extremity, Perrot proposed that, if the matter were left to him, he would undertake to reduce this formidable chief to terms, without war or expense to the queen; and the council were glad to leave the matter in his hands, though they were at a loss to imagine what his scheme might be.

Perrot's plan was extraordinary. He hired a vessel in Dublin, and procured the captain, for a large reward, to ship a quantity of Spanish wines, and proceed with this cargo round the coast to O'Donnel's country. The vessel made her voyage, and arrived safely in one of the fine harbours on the coast of Denegal. Here the Irish gentry, and especially O'Donnel, was invited to inspect her stock of wines. As was anticipated, young O'Donnel, the chief's son, went on board with some of his companions. They were handsomely entertained, the wine was circulated freely, and they were urged to taste this and that variety and flavour. While thus engaged, the vessel had glided into the middle of the bay, and having gained this distance, the hatches were put down, and the sails spread to the wind. O'Donnel and his companions were now prisoners, and the captain accomplished his voyage back to Dublin, with the same success with which he had made his prize. Perrot was thus in possession of a hostage for the tranquillity of O'Donnel's country.

The young man was kept prisoner at the castle of Dublin during Perrot's administration, and for a long time after; and when at length he made his escape, he became a formidable and implacable enemy of the British power in Ireland. Perrot had served a temporary purpose at the risk of a permanent evil, and had sullied

his fair fame with an act of practical falsehood and grievous oppression. But the practice of stealing Irish princes by fraud and stratagem, had become so inveterate in the government, that even Perrot's superior sense of rectitude did not protect him from its influence.

CHAP. X.

The new lord deputy seems to have entered upon office with a determination to make it a source of private profit, and to drain it to the dregs, without the least regard to justice or decency. About the time of his appointment, the failure and dispersion of the great Spanish armada occurred; and several ships having been wrecked upon the coast of Ireland, it was reported that considerable treasure had got into the hands of some of the Irish lords upon the coast. Fitz-William made diligent enquiries after this treasure, but could discover no trace of it, further than that it was supposed to have got into the hands of Sir Owen O'Toole and Sir John O'Dogherty, both Irish gentlemen of rank, and who had always manifested the steadiest attachment to the British government. Notwithstanding this, Fitz-William, not being able to extort a confession from them of having become possessed of Spanish treasure, committed both to a rigorous imprisonment, from which they were not released for several years.

Having failed as to treasure, the deputy resolved to try his fortune upon land. Upon pretence of settling some disputed claims to property he marched into Monaghan; and having there picked up a story that Mac Mahon, the chieftain of this district, whose estates were confirmed to him by patent from the crown, had, two years before, levied some rents out of his own lands, with an appearance of militaryforce; he tried the Irish lord upon the spot for this imaginary offence, by a jury of English soldiers, and having obtained a verdict from this extraordinary tribunal, the deputy pronounced judgment of death and instant execution upon the astonished chieftain.

Notwithstanding the character of this transaction, the crown quietly appropriated the lands, and bestowed a considerable portion of them upon the deputy himself, Sir Henry Bagnal, and other accomplices in the murder of Mac Mahon. A small portion was restored to some individuals of the sept.

Various other proceedings of this nature, and of a character hardly less atrocious, on the part of Fitz-William, Bagnal, and other officers of the crown, who all adopted the tone of the government, spread universal alarm throughout Ireland. There was a general murmur of discontent, such as usually precedes an appeal to arms, in an unsettled country. All men now turned

their eyes upon O'Neil; his countrymen looked to him as their leader and hope; the queen's officers considered him as the most formidable enemy to contend with, but as affording also the richest spoil. The one solicited him to take arms, the other would not believe that he meant peace. O'Neil felt the awkwardness of his position, and, in his embarrassment, he took his resolution suddenly, and appeared before Elizabeth in London.

Here he laid his own case, and the state of the country, before the queen, and renewed his submissions and professions of allegiance; but Fitz-William was still continued in the government, and Bagnal, who was the private and personal enemy of O'Neil, was dignified with the rank of marshal of the British army in Ireland.

The step which O'Neil had taken of passing into England, without leave of the local government in Ireland, had given great offence to the latter, and had even been disapproved by the queen, who not only abandoned her Irish subjects to the mercy of her officers in that country, but made any approach to the royal presence always extremely difficult to them, and generally impossible. O'Neil sought to protect himself by corresponding with the English council, or with her Majesty directly; but all the official despatches from Ireland represented him as preparing for and intending rebellion; and the

officers of the crown had frequently recourse to the treachery of intercepting the letters of the earl, in which he sought to explain and justify his conduct.

There can be no doubt that the object of the local government was to goad O'Neil into rebellion; and it is equally certain that, whatever might be the final intentions of this great nobleman, he struggled anxiously, at this period, to resist the goad. To convince the queen of his allegiance, he took arms against his kinsman, Mac Guire, and assisted his mortal enemy, Bagnal, to reduce this chief, who, but for O'Neil's interference, would have inflicted a severe defeat upon the marshal. This bold testimony of his loyalty disconcerted his enemies for a short time.

It was at length announced that Fitz-William was to be recalled from the government; and O'Neil resolved to wait upon the new lord deputy in person. The new deputy was Sir William Russell, son of the Duke of Bedford. When his arrival was made known, O'Neil took the bold step he had proposed of visiting him in Dublin; but he found that Bagnal had got the ear of the new deputy before him; and when he presented himself at the castle, the only question debated was, whether he should not be instantly committed to prison. O'Neil got notice of what

was proposed, and fled precipitately. It was now evident that war could not be long postponed.

The young chief of Tirconnel, who had but recently escaped from his long confinement, was the first to appear in arms; professing the utmost abhorrence of the faithlessness and treachery of the Irish government. This chief was O'Neil's son-in-law; and a circumstance equally fatal to his hopes of peace was his own marriage with a sister of Marshal Bagnal's, an event which seemed to have laid the foundation of the violent inveteracy of the latter against him. Bagnal might have pardoned the pride and power of the Irish chief; but he could not endure the superiority of his brother-in-law, nor forgive him the sin of winning his sister's affections. This unnatural caprice of Sir Henry Bagnal seems to have been a principal means of bringing about the war. O'Neil might have baffled the most obstinate politician, and contended with some hope against the crookedest state policy; but all his skill and address could not defeat the rancour of an exasperated relative.

The rising of O'Donnel was the signal of a general war. The good government of Perrot had laid so strong a foundation of peace, that it endured even during the merciless administration of Fitz-William. But Russell and his successors reaped the fruit of Fitz-William's iniquitous government.

O'Donnel commenced the war with great vigour. He attacked and took the castle of Enniskillen, after defeating, with great slaughter, a strong corps of British troops, which had been detached to its relief. O'Neil took and demolished the British fort upon the Blackwater. The De Burgos, of Connaught, still smarting under the severities of Bingham, joined the northern chiefs, with a considerable force. The flame of war was spreading rapidly; and hitherto the operations of the Irish were attended with uniform success. The queen was alarmed at this aspect of her affairs, and proposed to treat with her revolted subjects, at the same time that she appointed Sir John Norris, an officer who had gained great reputation on the Continent, to the command of her forces in Ireland.

Norris soon perceived that the war had been provoked by the practices of the queen's officers. In the field he had gained no advantage over the Irish, and he did all in his power to promote the success of the negotiations for peace. Long and fruitless negotiations followed between the Irish in arms and commissioners appointed by the queen, in which it is doubtful whether any of the parties were sincere. The successes of the Irish lords had been so considerable, as to encourage them to a prosecution of the war; and they were sensible how easy it would be, in the fulness of the royal power, to set aside any

conditions made in its weakness. Neither were the authorities in Ireland, with the exception of Sir John Norris, very anxious for the success of a negotiation which would extinguish the hope so recently presented of rich and extensive confiscations.

Philip of Spain was now in active correspondence with the northern Irish lords, and made magnificent promises of assistance. Every thing tended to a renewal of the war. Sir John Norris was removed from his command, and Russell from the government; and a new lord deputy, a man of considerable military talents, was appointed chief governor.

Lord Burgh assumed the command in Ireland, with a full resolution of prosecuting the war, and of listening to no terms of composition; thus was O'Neil's observation verified — that he might indeed readily make peace with Sir John Norris; but who could tell what might be the system of the next lord deputy, or commander-in-chief? Burgh was eager to make himself a name, and make himself a fortune: the Irish war presented a prospect of both.

O'Neil, on his side, laid aside all thoughts of negotiation, and prepared for a farther prosecution of the contest. He occupied a strong position near Armagh with the main body of his forces, where he waited the arrival of Lord Burgh;

while he despatched his lieutenant Tyrell with five hundred men into Leinster to create a diversion in that province. Tyrrel on his way encountered Lord Trimbleston, at the head of a thousand British troops, and totally defeated him. Another detachment of O'Neil's encountered Sir Conyers Clifford, on his march from Connaught to join Lord Burgh, and forced him to retreat with great loss. Animated by these successes, O'Neil received the attack of the British under Lord Burgh, and, after repeated and murderous conflicts, was forced to retire slowly from his lines; but his retreat was only to occupy a new position. Lord Burgh renewed the attack, and fell, with the flower of his army, in the conflict.

The command devolved on the Earl of Kildare; but neither side seemed disposed to renew the contest.

The queen appointed the Earl of Ormond to the command of the army, and intrusted the government to the chief justice and the Archbishop of Dublin. O'Neil renewed his negotiation with Ormond, but seems to have had no other object than to amuse the government while he continued the most active preparations for war. When quite prepared, he threw off the semblance of negotiation, and opened the campaign by an attack upon Armagh. Marshal Bagnal was ordered to relieve the town.

Bagnal's army consisted of five thousand of Norris's veterans, who had served on the Continent, several Irish clans, and some of the old forces of the Pale, inured to Irish warfare. The Irish army were drawn up in order of battle at a short distance from Armagh. It consisted of O'Neil's own forces of Tirowen, those of Tirconnel, and the clan of the Mac William from Connaught. The battle was long and exceedingly severe; but the result was a complete victory achieved by the Irish over the British army. Thirty-four standards were taken; all the artillery, arms, baggage, and ammunition. Marshal Bagnal was killed on the field; and a remnant of the queen's army were saved only by the bravery of O'Reilly, an Irish chief, who commanded a body of horse of his own clan, and covered their retreat.

So considerable and complete a victory seemed decisive of the fate of the war. An army of five or six thousand men on each side was, at that time, a great army in Ireland. All the forts and towns in the north surrendered to the victorious chieftain; and the flame which had been smoulderi ; so long in every part of Ireland, burst, at the match of O'Neil's victory, into one vast and general conflagration. All the clans of Ulster joined the standard of their great chief. In Leinster, O'Moore seized the moment

to revenge the oppressions his family had suffered, raised the old inhabitants to arms, and chased the new settlers from his lands. In Munster, the survivors of the Desmond family called their vassals together, and drove out the *planters*. The Lords of Lexnaw, Mountgarrett, Fermoy, Cahir, the white knight, the Knight of Glin, joined the general confederacy. The nephew of the late Earl of Desmond stipulated to hold his lands by grant from The O'Neil, and was restored to his estates.

The ruined condition of the queen's affairs in Ireland now required a large force and an able commander to re-establish them. O'Neil was indefatigable in improving his victory; he had despatched messengers to France and Spain, acquainting those courts with his successes, and soliciting succours. Spain sent ambassadors in return, and promised speedy assistance. Ireland had now become an object of attention to all the powers of Europe, and Elizabeth was compelled to direct a more than ordinary attention to this portion of her dominions. She determined to put an end to the war in Ireland, by sending into that country an army of twenty thousand men, commanded by the most gallant soldier of the age, the Earl of Essex; a force which she considered no power in Ireland could withstand.

Essex had imprudently sought this appoint-

ment himself; nor were his suspicions awakened by finding that his wishes were promoted by his rivals and enemies as well as his friends. They wished to remove him from court, and to expose him to the jealousies and suspicions which the queen seemed to entertain of all her commanders in Ireland. It is not clear what were Lord Essex's views in undertaking the war in Ireland; but he was, probably, not sorry to escape from the irksome tenderness of his royal mistress.

Neither the earl's military renown nor the great force he led seem to have excited much alarm in Ireland. A degree of combination and unity of purpose had been effected between the Irish of all classes, such as had not prevailed for centuries. This was a strong proof of the power which O'Neil had acquired over the minds of his countrymen; but it was a proof still stronger of the deep impression which the abuses of the local government had made on the heart of the country.

Lord Essex's powerful armament was received with sullen indifference. There was no movement of the people; no one came forward to tender their allegiance, or to make submission to the lord lieutenant (such was Essex's new title). The ascendency of O'Neil seemed for the moment to have supplied the cure for the dissensions of his countrymen, which had been wanting for centuries.

After much hesitation as to his plan of campaign, Essex marched into Leinster. But his troops were new levies, and he was himself wholly unused to the war which he was now to wage. One of his principal corps was defeated and cut to pieces by the O'Byrnes; and the main body of his cavalry was attacked in a defile by O'Moore of Leix, and suffered severely.* He returned to Dublin without effecting any thing, and with his army greatly dispirited and reduced.

The failure of Lord Essex in his first undertakings in Ireland was a severe mortification to the queen: she remarked, that the tone of his despatches was quite different from the strain of his discourses previous to his setting out for that country. In England, he spoke of the Irish forces with contempt, and of the reduction of the country as an easy achievement to a British army led by a general of competent ability. He now represented the Irish as superior in strength of body, activity, and use of their arms to the troops he commanded, and spoke of the reduction of the country as a work of time and infinite difficulty.

It is obvious, however, from Essex's despatches, that he did not mean a mere military reduction

* This was called the battle of the "Pass of Plumes" from the *feathers* lost by Essex's gay cavalry, who were nearly cut to pieces.

of the country; his views were more statesman-like and more humane: he evidently had in view the reduction of the kingdom into peace and good government, and the promotion of the welfare of the people. Elizabeth answered the earl's state papers with severe reprimands, and ordered him to march into the North, and prosecute the war with vigour.

The earl required a reinforcement of two thousand men for the northern campaign; and the queen, though astonished and alarmed at the increasing expences of the war, complied with his demand. Having received this reinforcement, the earl prepared to march northward; and ordered Sir Conyers Clifford to move to Beleek with the force under his command, amounting to near two thousand men. This division, when on its march, was attacked in a difficult pass, and totally defeated, by O'Rourke, one of O'Neil's officers, at the head of no more than two hundred men.

Essex at length marched with the main body of the army, and soon encamped on the banks of the Blackwater. O'Neil and his forces occupied the other side of the river. It had not been the intention of the Irish general to molest Lord Essex on his march; his object was to ascertain what were Essex's real views, concerning which there were various and extraordinary reports in

circulation, and to wear out the English army by delays and the climate.

Nothing could exceed the address with which O'Neil accommodated himself to the character of the earl, and won his confidence. Essex was a man of talent, but of little judgment; O'Neil possessed both, and soon penetrated the inmost secrets of the ambitious favourite. The British general rode from his lines to the bank of the river to meet the Irish chieftain, who was advancing from his camp on the opposite side. The fore feet of Lord Essex's charger were in the water, when O'Neil spurred his horse into the river, and swam him across. The English lord was flattered by this mark of confidence and courtesy in a nobleman of so much pride and power as O'Neil: both continued their ride, unattended, along the bank of the river, and were observed to be engaged in deep and earnest conversation, while both armies looked on, with surprise and doubt of the event.

At length Essex beckoned to his officers to join, and O'Neil made signal to his train, and the conversation became general, and a formal conference followed, where O'Neil stated his grievances and complaints, and proposed terms of accommodation with the queen. To give time to the consideration of these propositions, a cessation of arms was agreed to for six weeks, to be

renewed from time to time, as might be necessary; and the British army marched back to their quarters in Leinster.

The queen, who had been anxiously looking for a victory over O'Neil, was exceedingly disappointed and incensed at this termination of all the mighty preparations for the march into Ulster. Essex's enemies accused him of a private understanding with O'Neil, in which the latter had engaged to promote his ambitious views, and to aid him in his designs upon the crown of England. The clamour was so great, that Essex thought it necessary to make his peace with the queen in person. He committed the government to the chancellor and Sir George Carew, and set out for London. That this unfortunate nobleman entertained criminal designs can hardly be doubted. He might be excused, perhaps, for their folly, but cannot be pardoned their ingratitude. His administration in Ireland indicated nothing of superior mind, even in the prosecution of his supposed plans. If he did not, as is probable, seriously intend to push the war against O'Neil, he should at least have guarded himself from the defeat and discomfiture which attended all his enterprises, and which could not in any way have promoted his objects.

CHAP. XI.

Essex was succeeded in the Irish government by Blunt, Lord Mountjoy, a man very superior to any of those who had yet contended with O'Neil. Mountjoy was a man of studious habits, and of great literary attainments, a circumstance from which an opinion of his incapacity in the field had been erroneously deduced. O'Neil himself fell into the error, and is reported to have expressed his joy at the appointment of a commander, "who would lose the season of action, while his breakfast was preparing."

Mountjoy was not only an eminent man himself, but he was supported in the subordinate departments of the government by several men of great vigour and abilities, among whom Carew, Lord President of Munster, and Ormond were the most remarkable.

The war was waged in the outset with great skill and activity, but for some time with no decided success. O'Neil maintained his ground, but he gained no victories; and Mountjoy's extraordinary caution guarded him from surprise and ambuscade. This equal balance permitted

the British commanders to practise with the Irish lords who adhered to O'Neil. Their intrigues were conducted with the greatest address, and were very successful: they flattered, bribed, and intimidated, and soon shook the confederacy which O'Neil had formed. Their manner of making war was almost as fatal to the Irish league. The British commanders deriving their provisions in a great measure from England, were very much independent of home supply, and adopted, in the very outset of Mountjoy's administration, a systematic spoliation of the country. They waged war with the double instrument of sword and famine; the corn was every where committed to the flames; the houses of the peasantry, and all the implements of husbandry, were destroyed. The Irish forces soon began to feel the effect of this system of devastation, and to be cramped in all their movements.

The expense of the Irish war increased in the mean time daily, and filled the minds of the queen and her ministers with alarm. The annual expense was now not less than half a million. The queen tried the experiment of debasing the coin; and, like all such expedients, it only served, ultimately, to increase her difficulties.

The talents of Mountjoy, and the vigour of Carew, though restrained by no principle, had

yet reaped no very decisive advantage in the war. O'Neil and his confederates still kept the field and gained occasional triumphs, while he sustained the spirits of his adherents by promises of great and effectual assistance from Spain.

The long-promised succours from Spain were now at hand; the British generals had failed in their great object of putting an end to the war before the arrival of the Spanish expedition. The Munster and Connaught Irish were considerably reduced; but O'Neil and O'Donnel were still at the head of a large and unbroken force; and even where the queen's officers had been most successful, the heart of the country was unsubdued in its enmity to the British government. The manner in which the war was conducted by the officers of the crown, left no ground in which reconcilement could take root. Carew had succeeded in seizing the persons of several of the chief lords of Munster, whom he detained prisoners. One of these, on being examined by the president and his council, professed his readiness to adhere to the queen's allegiance. "But what if the Spaniards should arrive?" said the president. "In that case," replied the Irish lord, "let not your lordship rely upon me, nor on any of those lords who seem most attached to your service."

We may be somewhat surprised at the can-

dour of this reply, when we consider what sort of man the president of Munster was; but we cannot be astonished at the general and deep-rooted hostility to the queen's government which it proves to have then prevailed in the country.

Carew was a man of great energy and activity in the field, and at the same time cruel, subtle, and deceitful; a consummate intriguer; rapacious of property, and delighting in blood. When he had hunted down an Irishman of rank, and compelled him to sue for mercy to the queen's officers, it was his custom to accede to such an application upon condition only, that the subdued offender should assassinate some friend or relative of his own. By this means, says Carew, "I sow distrust among them, and make their enmities irreconcileable, for they do not forgive blood."

The various expeditions which the Spaniards had sent to Ireland in this reign had been all wretchedly insufficient, and conducted without ability or spirit. They had been fatal to the Irish, by stimulating them into resistance to their lawful sovereign, while they were wholly unequal to support them in their time of need. There is no doubt that O'Neil would have made terms with the queen, and taken his chance for baffling the intrigues of her local functionaries, had he not been strongly stimulated to a con-

tinuance of the war by the magnificent promises of Spain.

The expedition which now appeared on the coast consisted of less than two thousand men, commanded by Don Juan D'Aquila, a man of mean spirit and utter incapacity. This small force landed, as it seemed, by accident, or without considering fitness or convenience, at the first port they made, which happened to be Kinsale, in October 1601. They took possession of the town and forts.

Don Juan had been sent expressly to assist O'Neil and O'Donnel, and he had contrived to shut himself up in a corner of the kingdom the most remote from those lords. But though the Spaniards' position was a very awkward one for O'Neil, it was very convenient for Lord Mountjoy and the President Carew; and, accordingly, the first operation of the invading army was to defend itself. The lord deputy having received considerable reinforcements from England on the first news of the invasion, was in a short time able to collect an army of about ten thousand men, and lay siege to Kinsale. Instead, therefore, of the Spaniards assisting the Irish lords, as was the purpose of their coming, they were anxiously looking to the Irish army for help and deliverance for themselves. This was an unpromising commencement of the boasted invasion from Spain.

The reinforcements sent from England to Lord Mountjoy greatly exceeded the numbers of the Spanish invaders; and that they were much better soldiers was proved by all the events of the siege, in which the Spaniards were beaten at every encounter with the British troops, and frequently put to the rout by very inferior numbers.

The whole number of the Spanish expedition destined for Ireland was said to be six thousand men, of which about a third part had arrived. Neither the numbers nor the proceedings of the Spaniards held out any encouragement to the Irish, however well disposed, to join these foreigners. On the contrary, some of the chief lords of Munster joined the lord deputy with their troops; but the greater number remained quiet, watching the progress of events.

O'Neil appears to have been embarrassed by the awkward position in which Don Juan had placed himself. A great part of his force was in the nature of a militia, which would not consent to march out of Ulster; and a march of nearly three hundred miles, in the depth of winter, and through an exhausted country, was an undertaking of great risk and peril. On the other hand, the Spaniards were pressed so hard, and made so poor a defence, that unless relieved by the northerns, it was evident they must soon surrender. Don Juan, who appeared to be

already very much out of humour with his expedition, pressed O'Neil and O'Donnel anxiously and incessantly to hasten to his relief. O'Donnel was the first to march. O'Neil followed with more caution, at the head of all the clans in alliance with him; but the whole force that could be brought out of Ulster did not much exceed five thousand men.

Mountjoy despatched the President of Munster to intercept the northern army, and prevent their penetrating into the south. But O'Donnel, who led the way, baffled him by a degree of activity of which the English troops were wholly incapable, marching through a very difficult country, with all his baggage and artillery, at a rate of more than thirty Irish miles a day. Carew returned to the camp without accomplishing any thing. Many of the southern lords and chieftains who had taken no part with the Spaniards, did not hesitate to join O'Neil when he reached the south; and they were further encouraged by the appearance of another small division of the Spanish expedition, which entered the bay of Baltimore almost at the same moment that O'Neil's army took up its position at Kinsale.

The appearance of the second expedition, though consisting, like the first, of less than two thousand men, seemed to indicate that the Spaniards were in earnest. All the southern and western Irish immediately declared against

the queen. Sir Finin O'Driscol received the Spaniards in all his castles and islands, from Kinsale to Bantry; the O'Sullivans and O'Donevans in Cork and Kerry followed his example.

O'Neil had taken his position with great skill in the rear of the British camp, and placed Mountjoy and his army in an exceedingly critical situation. The besieging army was now itself besieged: its communications with Cork and the surrounding country, and with the sea, were carefully cut off, and nothing was wanting but that O'Neil should steadily keep his ground, in order to compel the British army to surrender. The Ulster chief had formed an intrenched camp, and strongly fortified his position. Should Mountjoy attempt to force it, he would be attacked in the rear by the Spaniards from the town, and exposed to destruction. Should he make a serious assault upon the town, he would be exposed to O'Neil's army in the rear.

The British army, however, was more than equal to a single contest with O'Neil. They were better provided with every thing, except food and forage, and they were considerably superior in numbers; Mountjoy having received different corps from England, amounting to about four thousand men, besides Lord Clanricard's and Lord Thomond's divisions, and various troops of Irish, who still adhered to the queen's cause. The army had suffered much by the se-

verity of the season, and the hardships of a winter's siege; but they had suffered much less than was reported, and were in much less want of provisions, having received large supplies from England by Oysterhaven, and drawn all their stores from Cork, previous to setting down before Kinsale. Their situation in prospect, however, was undoubtedly very alarming; nor had they any chance of escape but in bringing the Irish army to battle, by some stratagem or contrivance. Mountjoy knew that in O'Neil he had to deal with a general of uncommon wariness and sagacity; but he did not despair.

With extraordinary skill he contrived to convert his Spanish enemies into allies. He knew that the Spaniards were weary of the siege, and of their confined position at Kinsale; and he spread reports, in every direction, of his own army being worn out with fatigue, reduced to half its numbers, and in a state of utter despondency and disorganization. Don Juan believed every tale of this kind, or was willing to take them as true, and pressed O'Neil, with great earnestness, to attack the British camp, assuring him of an easy victory, and promising to sally from the town at the same moment, and overwhelm the whole British army. It was long before O'Neil could be induced to consent to this plan of operations. He knew that the accounts of the wants and sufferings of the English

army were gross exaggerations; he had no very high opinion of his Spanish allies; and he had learnt from long experience, what stuff an English army is made of.

But the sagacious general was overruled; the entreaties and taunts of the Spanish officers had wrought upon O'Neil's generals. Some of the chiefs of clans were impatient of their position, so remote from home, and all had been induced to give some credit to the exaggerated stories in circulation of the condition of Mountjoy's army. Mountjoy had his spies in the Irish camp, and knew all that occurred. A great deal even of the correspondence between Don Juan and his Irish allies passed through the hands of the British commander. Such of the letters as suited his purpose were faithfully forwarded; the rest were suppressed.

At length O'Neil gave a reluctant consent to a plan for surprising the British camp. The attack was to be made at night, and Don Juan was to co-operate by a sally from the town with his whole force. Mountjoy was instantly made acquainted with this plan of surprising his camp. The result was easy to conjecture: it was the Irish who were surprised.

As O'Neil approached the British lines, he saw that he was betrayed. He instantly countermanded the attack, which had been planned to meet other circumstances: but he was aware

that he could not now avoid fighting, and he made a bold and successful movement to gain a position which afforded him some advantages. But the Spaniards who had joined him from Baltimore mistook his intention, and delayed upon their ground. The British advanced rapidly, pierced between the two corps of the Irish army, and followed up their attack with extraordinary vigour. O'Neil's infantry had been thrown into some disorder by the retreat and the sudden change of plan: this was perceived by Lord Clanricard who pushed forward to the attack supported by the whole force of the British army.

After some very severe fighting, O'Neil retreated in disorder; the Spaniards were cut to pieces, and several of the Irish clans totally dispersed. Don Juan had not put his head out of the town during the combat.

No quarter was given by the British, and the few prisoners that were taken, amongst whom were several Irish lords of rank, were hanged the day after the battle, in the English camp.

Don Juan thought he was warranted now in considering the war at an end, and hastened to make the best terms he could with the British general. Mountjoy treated him with the contempt he deserved; but the obvious policy of getting the Spaniards quickly out of Ireland induced him to yield to some points of pride

and etiquette, which the Spaniard was more concerned about than for the success of his expedition. He surrendered Kinsale upon condition of being sent back to Spain at the cost of the queen's government. Mountjoy lost no time in sending off the Spaniards, keeping Don Juan with him in Cork for some weeks, where the poor Spaniard seems to have been hardly treated. Despatches which arrived at Kinsale from the king of Spain for Don Juan were forwarded from that town to Cork by Spanish messengers. Carew sent some of his soldiers, disguised as Irish peasants, who robbed and abused the messengers on the way, and brought the despatches to Cork. The deputy and the president had been some time busily engaged in the perusal of the despatches when word was brought to the Spanish commander of the fate of his packet. The Spaniard complained; and the president and deputy seemed affected with equal grief and indignation as Don Juan himself, and inveighed bitterly against the Irish as incorrigible rogues, and incapable of gratitude or fidelity. Notwithstanding this sympathy and honest indignation, the Spaniard vehemently suspected the deputy or the president, and hinted his suspicions. The deputy swore upon his faith that the president had them not, which, says Carew, in his account of the transaction, "he might safely do, as he had them himself."

O'Neil, though he had lost more than half his numbers by the sword and by dispersion, still kept a remnant of his army together. He attributed his defeat as well to the cowardice of the Spaniards, and to their arrogance and folly in forcing him from his own measures, as to the surprise which the betrayal of his plans had occasioned. But he was still for continuing the war, when the precipitate surrender of Kinsale deprived him of his last hope. All the Irish of the league, now exposed to the vengeance of the British government, were loud in expressing their contempt and indignation against the Spaniards. Don Juan had stipulated with the deputy for the surrender of the castles of the O'Driscols and O'Sullivans, where his troops had been admitted only as allies. Indignant at this presumption, the western lords drove the Spaniards from their castles, declaring that if they must be surrendered to the queen, they would themselves deliver them up. Don Juan professed himself highly offended at this bold proceeding, and declared he would gladly take his share in reducing those refractory lords. But the deputy declined the favour of his assistance, and reserved that task to himself.

When the Spaniards had been shipped off, the reduction of the western islands and coasts was committed to the lord president, and turned out to be a task which required all his energy

and talent. The numerous castles and islands commanded by the O'Driscols of Baltimore and Castlehaven made a vigorous defence; and O'Sullivan's castle of Dunboy, commanding the bay of Bantry, refused to surrender in its last extremity; and, when the besiegers were within the walls, the governor made a last desperate effort to blow up the fortress by flinging a lighted torch into a magazine of gunpowder.

This brave garrison was put to the sword, and their chaplain, who had prepared the soldiers for death, was hanged. All the chiefs and principal men on this coast, consisting of the heads of the O'Driscol, Mac Carty, O'Sullivan, and O'Donovan families, put to sea in their own vessels and in some Spanish ships that lingered on the coast, and passed into Spain, leaving only some collateral branches of these once powerful families in Ireland. The clans retired into the mountains, while the British soldiers burned and laid waste the accessible country. The remnant of the militia, collected under O'Sullivan Beare, maintained a vigorous war, under cover of the ravines and morasses of the western district. At length, having drawn together into a body, they set out to join O'Neil in his march northward. Carew despatched a strong corps of light troops in pursuit of them, who annoyed the Irish exceedingly on their march, putting all the stragglers and tired

men to death. To rid themselves of this annoyance, the Irish faced about, and, having chosen their ground, gave battle to their pursuers. In this desperate encounter the Irish suffered severely, but every man of the British was put to the sword.

This check made Mountjoy and Carew halt in their career of blood and desolation. The lord deputy saw that severity had been pushed beyond the point of intimidation, and that the terrible spirit of a reckless vengeance was rising, even in the desolate wilderness he had made. He did not hesitate to retrace his steps; he gave orders to stop the burnings and military executions, which had already renewed the scenes of the Desmond war, and wasted and depopulated a great part of Munster. Perhaps another motive with Mountjoy was, that the queen's health was reported to be precarious, and he was ambitious to finish the war. Putting aside, therefore, all dignity and ceremony, he despatched Sir William Godolphin to O'Neil with propositions of peace.

The queen was really ill, and began to apprehend that she had shed too much blood in Ireland. She commanded the deputy to make peace upon easy terms with O'Neil, if it could be done. She ordered Sir Finin O'Driscol to be restored to his estates in Carbery, and showed a dispo-

sition, in some other instances, to remedy the distractions that had occurred.

O'Neil was busy in reorganizing his army; and the clergy, throughout all Ireland, were using every exertion to stimulate the country to new efforts, when Godolphin made his proposals. O'Neil did not hesitate to accept the terms offered: he was weary of war, and disgusted with his Spanish allies. He made the humblest submissions to the queen, and was restored to all his estates, honours, and titles. The queen's orders, with respect to the O'Driscol property, were evaded for a time; the council proposing several objections to her majesty. Her commands were repeated, but not immediately complied with; and the death of the queen sealed the confiscation.

Thus ended the wars of Elizabeth's reign, and the life of that princess. It seemed as if there could not be peace in Ireland while she lived. Her last moments were disturbed by her anxieties respecting the affairs of that country; and she died without having the satisfaction to hear that O'Neil had accepted the terms she offered.

It was reported that when O'Neil heard of the queen's death, he bitterly lamented the submissions he had made to her deputy; and with good reason. Had he postponed his treaty with Mountjoy, he might have submitted to the new king with more grace; and the merit of his sub-

mission might, with the new sovereign, have been some security that the terms of it would be observed.

It has been a common observation of the historians of this period, that the wars of Elizabeth's reign, whatever may have been their principle or their origin, served the important purpose of extending the British laws and constitution over the whole surface of the island, and of utterly sweeping away the old and worn-out institutions of the Irish.

But Elizabeth never extended to her Irish subjects the benefit of the laws and constitution of England; nor were the fierce conflicts of her reign at all necessary or useful in preparing the way for their introduction. The landed proprietors, Irish and Anglo-Irish, had always earnestly solicited of the crown, that the laws of the Pale might be extended throughout the island. They were willing and anxious to assist in this great undertaking; and they would have been the best and the only effectual instruments by which it could have been accomplished. We are rather inclined to think, that the bitter and deadly feuds of this reign, with all their crimes and horrors, had an evil and long-enduring influence in retarding the improvement and prosperity of Ireland.

The wars of this reign, whatever colouring of politics they may have received, were substan-

tially mere struggles of the old proprietors of the country, to preserve their property and importance, against the tide of new adventurers, which the rapid political and religious changes then occurring in Great Britain, and the growing enterprise and population of the larger island, threw upon the lesser. The new adventurers had the ear of government, and the power of the crown in their hands. With these advantages, it was not surprising that they were able to convert their antagonists into rebels, or to fix that character upon them. But the bold and persevering, and long successful resistance of the old proprietors, when they found themselves driven to extremity, must excite our admiration.

England, even in Elizabeth's reign, was the greatest nation of Europe, and her affairs were never more ably, though sometimes more honestly, administered. Ireland was broken by adverse and jealous parties and factions; the country was poor, with no foreign commerce, and little internal trade; wasted by long wars, and without means or resources of any kind. Under such circumstances did O'Neil wage a ten years' war against the whole power of England, directed by her ablest commanders, Norris, Russell, Burgh, Essex, Bagnal, Clifford, Ormond, and Mountjoy, and was only subdued by the fatal co-operation of his allies of Spain.

It cannot be denied, that O'Neil was the most

remarkable man of his time; and it is deeply to be regretted, that his extraordinary talents were not employed by the queen in promoting the power and the glory of the monarchy abroad, or in establishing her throne in the hearts of her subjects in Ireland. O'Neil had the pride and the ambition of a man conscious of great talents. The queen might have opened to him a career of honour and distinction, and won him on easy terms to her service. It was evident that she was more the victim, and the instrument, than the accomplice, of those designs, which, during her reign, were so perseveringly directed against the old proprietary of Ireland. But there is little doubt that she was at length brought to countenance the opinion first publicly avowed in her time, that the only means of establishing true religion and civilization in Ireland, were by rooting out the old inhabitants, and planting a new population from Great Britain in their place. This notion gained ground in subsequent reigns, and afforded to the worst passions of bad men the plausible pretext of political expediency, and even of religious motive. Massacre and spoliation took the name of "planting religion and civility," and were no longer crimes.

The reformation had made no progress in Ireland during the reign of Elizabeth. Those who were compelled to war with the power,

would not be disposed to favour the religion of the queen. The authority of the queen did not extend beyond her camp, and the religion of the reformation had even narrower limits. Two-thirds of the British army who won the victory at Kinsale, were Irish Catholics; and the Earl of Clanricard, to whom it was chiefly due, was remarkable for his steady attachment to the religion of Rome.

The wars of this reign served, on the contrary, to raise up a powerful and permanent obstruction to the progress of the reformation. The Irish knew it only as the religion of those strangers who contended with them in mortal strife for their inheritances. They knew it only as the profession of those English ecclesiastics who were sent from time to time from the other island, and are described by all the British writers of that day as a class of men remarkable for their profligate lives, their ignorance, and entire neglect of the few duties they had to perform.

The religion of Rome, on the contrary, was not only their own, but it was the religion of their allies of Spain, Italy, and France. Their political struggles drew closer the ties that bound them to their ancient faith.

The short administration of Sir John Perrot was the only interval of peace and good government in the reign of this celebrated queen; and

to this excellent man Ireland is also indebted for the establishment of the university of Dublin, which was built upon the foundation of the monastery of All-Hallows, a religious house founded and endowed by Dermod Mac Murchad, king of Leinster, in the vicinity of Dublin. The queen highly approved and promoted Perrot's benevolent views, and after some delays and opposition, the building proceeded rapidly. The queen is well deserving of her share of fame, as founder of this distinguished seat of learning; nor is Mac Murchad's merit to be overlooked, whose bounty sustained the learning and piety of his own age and supplied Elizabeth with the means of liberality.

A severe famine prevailed in Ireland at the close of Elizabeth's reign, the consequence of the long wars and frequent wastings of the country.

CHAP. XII.

REIGN OF JAMES I.

THE state of Ireland, on the accession of James, presented that prince with an opportunity of doing good, which, though arising out of the errors and calamities of the former reign, must be considered as the noblest inheritance of kings. But James had no sooner succeeded to the crown of Ireland, than, instead of healing the wounds of the nation, and securing, by wise measures, the permanency of the peace that had been so dearly purchased, he set himself earnestly to work in laying the foundations of a war which, in his son's reign, was again to desolate and lay waste the country.

He began by stirring the question of religious conformity. The Catholic inhabitants of Dublin were ordered to attend divine service in the Protestant churches. This order was not complied with; the Catholics, on the contrary, remonstrated boldly, and stated the reasonableness of being permitted to worship God according to the manner which they conscientiously preferred. The government of Ireland, which had imbibed the high prerogative spirit of the first

Stuart, was astonished and incensed at the extravagance of the proposition, and the boldness of the remonstrance, and met the argument according to the mode of controversy in that age. The remonstrators were committed to prison and heavily fined.

In the provinces the same efforts were made to suppress the public exercise of the Romish worship. To the representations of the lord deputy upon this head, the citizens of Cork replied, "that they only exercised now publicly that which ever before they had been suffered to exercise privately, and as their public prayers gave testimony of their faithful hearts to the king, so they were bound to be no less careful to manifest their duties to God, in which they would never be dissembling temporisers."

To quell this "seditious spirit," says Leland, Mountjoy determined to march into Munster at the head of a royal army. On his arriving before Waterford the citizens closed their gates, but sent a deputation of their clergy and laity to wait upon the deputy, and pray the benefit of a charter of King John, which exempted the city of Waterford from the quartering of soldiers. Mountjoy replied, that "if they did not open their gates, he would draw King James's sword, and cut King John's charter in pieces."

Charters have but little chance of victory in contending against swords. Mountjoy soon

reduced the southern cities to obedience, and suppressed the public worship of the Romish religion; by his advice, a proclamation was issued under the great seal for a general pacification and oblivion of all past offences against the state, and for receiving the whole body of the Irish as subjects of the crown. Hitherto they had always been liable to the severe penal inflictions of the law of England, but denied the benefits of its protection.

The proclamation procured by Lord Mountjoy at length remedied this mischief. Sheriffs were appointed, and assizes and circuits established all over the kingdom; and, for the first time, the British dominion in Ireland embraced the whole island, and the narrow boundaries of the Pale were pushed to the shores of the ocean. The King's Bench now declared Irish tenures to be at an end; and that all lands should henceforward be taken to be held under the law of England. The Irish lords were invited to surrender their chiefries, and take grants of their lands by patent from the crown. Some difficulties occurred in treating the interests of the inferior and superior chiefs; the superior lords taking frequently grants in fee of all the territory over which they claimed title according to the law of Ireland, while, for a great part, the substantial property was in the inferior or tributary lords.

An instance of this kind occurred in Munster in the case of M'Carty More, who, having taken a grant in fee of his vast estates, his numerous vassals became alarmed, and besieged him in his castle at Blarney, until they forced him to an adjustment. The higher nobility of old Irish race, or those who, according to the Irish law, were held to be really *noble*, were not many. There were but eight families deemed noble or princely in Munster. The inferior lords were very numerous.

It had formerly been the practice for the crown to grant patents of *chiefries* to the Irish lords, where there were rival claimants, or for the mere purpose of forming a connection with the chief. This custom was now entirely discontinued. A rent was fixed in lieu of the duties which the inferior lord was accustomed to pay his chief; and, subject to this rent, he was henceforth entitled to hold his lands to himself and his heirs. These were all important changes in the political condition of Ireland, and might well have justified James's claim to the title he was so ambitious of obtaining, that of LEGISLATOR of Ireland, if he had been satisfied to have stopped there. But, with an inconsistency becoming a Stuart, he professed a reverence for the Roman religion, while he denounced its ceremonies, and persecuted its professors. The Irish, people at this time had no choice of any

other religion, being wholly without a clergy of the Protestant communion that could speak their language; they could be no other than Catholics, and were persecuted for a faith which it was impossible for them to renounce.

But James's *plantation* of Ulster was his grand and favourite scheme. The gunpowder plot had excited a taste for plots which could hardly be satiated. It had raised in England a storm against popery which made any enormity told of that religion or its professors easily credited and hardly requiring proof. This was an opportunity which the traders in confiscations, now for some years deprived of their accustomed traffic, could not suffer to pass. While the ferment of the gunpowder plot still existed, and the public mind was agitated by reports, and whispers, and surmises industriously propagated, a sham plot was prepared in Ireland, the object of which was to carry on by a new process the old attack upon the northern counties which had so frequently been baffled by the ability and activity of O'Neil.

Sham plots have, in past times, been favourite political instruments in England, and in Ireland they are still frequently resorted to; a real plot has sometimes been a useful engine of party, but having a real existence, its form and character can seldom be so exactly suited to the occasion, as one expressly manufactured for the

purpose; accordingly a sham plot is always a more powerful machine than a real one, the latter being chiefly valuable as affording the rude material out of which the more convenient instrument may be constructed.

The material which the gunpowder plot afforded was eagerly seized upon by the fabricators of better contrived schemes, and an excellent piece of mechanism was speedily manufactured in Dublin, which worked so well, that in a very short space of time the contrivers divided profits to the extent of six counties.

Yet the merit of this plot did not consist in the reasonableness of it. It was apparently a most clumsy and unpromising plot, and one which in ordinary times would have been laughed at by the most simple. Its merit was in its suitableness to the moment, which required proof of nothing, and only demanded, for the ruin of any person, three simple ingredients, property, popery, and Irishry. The two latter amounted to presumptive proof of the plot, the former was confirmation.

The chief actor in this plot was a person of the name of St. Laurence, a man notorious for extraordinary wickedness, but he was probably only an agent in the hands of the real contrivers of the scheme.

A letter dropped in the council chamber intimating darkly a conspiracy of the great catholic

lords against the state, was taken to apply particularly to the Lords Tyrone and Tirconnel. And these two lords were immediately informed by persons prepared for the purpose, that the contrivers of the plot were ready with suborned witnesses, and were fully determined to pursue them to death and confiscation.

O'Neil knew the difference between a sham plot and a real one; against the latter he could have guarded himself, against the former he knew there was no defence. Some of the most powerful men in the kingdom were concerned in the plot; and the mind of the king, prejudiced by the occurrences in England, was prepared to believe it. O'Neil knew he had no resource but arms, and for that he was not prepared, because as to this plot he was innocent. Nothing remained but flight; and this was the point which the parties were anxious to bring him to.

He fled to the continent, accompanied by O'Donnel; and thus ended the career of this extraordinary man. He lived for some years at Rome on a pension from the pope, and was blind for a considerable time before his death, which happened in 1616. A few years after, his son was assassinated at Brussels, and in him the chief branch of the distinguished family of Hy Nail became extinct, the origin of which lies hid in the remotest antiquity.

James published a very curious proclamation

upon this occasion, in which he attempts to justify the proceedings with respect to O'Neil, and scolds the earl in very coarse language. This remarkable publication tends to show, that his conscience was not convinced.

The flight of O'Neil and O'Donnel, and the senseless rebellion of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, placed five hundred thousand acres at the disposal of the king; the chief management of which was committed to the care of Sir Arthur Chichester, while James matured his grand schemes for the "plantation of Ulster."

O'Neil and O'Donnel were deprived of their estates by proclamation, and their lands were seized by the crown. It is remarkable that there were innumerable tenures held under O'Neil by lease, and in fee, subject to quit-rent, and that the holders of all this property, though not implicated or accused of the supposed offence of the earl, and though their titles were confirmed by the recently established law, were all forcibly driven from their possessions.

The lands of the northern chiefs were divided into regular portions of two thousand, fifteen hundred, and one thousand acres, and disposed of by the crown by grant or sale to new proprietors, English or Scotch, but chiefly the latter, that nation having already a considerable footing in the north of Ireland, and being closely connected with the northern Irish by blood and

affinity. Part of the scheme was, according to the rule laid down in all other settlements of this kind, to exclude the original Irish tenants; but this was found impracticable, as it had been in all former instances. This settlement was remarkable for the city of London becoming a chief undertaker of forfeited lands in Ireland, and for the erection of a new order of knighthood called Baronets.

The city built or improved the town of Derry, afterwards called London-Derry; but it does not appear that the order of baronets ever contributed to the advantage or improvement of the *plantation*, with which in its origin it was connected.

James soon became enamoured of his new trade of projector and legislator. The spirit of planting grew upon him, and demanded perpetual gratification. To satisfy this appetite he created another novelty, or at least a novelty in the extent to which it was carried by him and his family: this was a commission for enquiring into defective titles of his subjects. His order of baronets was a mere harmless vanity: his commission of defective titles was a grievous oppression. Both had their source in the sordid love of money, which formed the basis of the Stuart character, and which afterwards induced the unhappy princes of that house to sell their crown and honour for a price to the kings of France.

It is easy to imagine, that under such a monarch as James, and with such an instrument in his hands as this commission, few titles were found technically perfect. Accordingly he contrived, by this scheme, to add about half a million of acres in other parts of the kingdom to the vast forfeitures of the northern counties.

James had been for some time dealing freely with the private property and the religious opinions of his subjects. He now undertook to improve the constitution of parliament. He created forty new boroughs. They can hardly be called rotten: in point of fact some of them had little existence beyond a name. But it must be admitted, that the constitution of the Irish parliament required extension, since the abolition of the old boundaries of the Pale. It is to be feared, however, that this scheme had more in view the increase of the royal authority than the wise object of connecting the people with the administration of the laws.

James's schemes for procuring money seemed, with the usual and just fate of rapacity, but to augment his distresses. Towards the close of his reign, the kingdom was in a frightful state of disorder. The Catholics were exasperated by a bitter, petty, and teasing spirit of persecution on account of religion, the only object of which seemed to be, to collect a few pence in the way of fines for non-attendance at pro-

testant places of worship. The old Irish were exasperated at the spoliations of which they had been the victims, and at the king's incessant breaches of faith with them. All the inhabitants of every race felt that there was no longer any security for property, and that they were exposed to a profligate extortion that knew no limits.

These disorders were aggravated by the violent conduct of the soldiery, and the exactions of the church. "Such," says Leland, "were the extortions and oppressions of the soldiers in various excursions from their quarters for levying the king's rents, or supporting the civil power; a rigorous and tyrannical execution of martial law in time of peace; a dangerous and unconstitutional power assumed by the privy council in deciding causes, determinable by common law; their severe treatment of witnesses and jurors in the Castle-chamber, whose evidence or verdicts had been displeasing to the state; the grievous exactions of the established clergy for the occasional duties of their function; and the severity of their ecclesiastical courts. These and other matters of complaint were loudly and incessantly enforced, even by those who were not immediately affected by the more enormous abuses of the royal authority."

James died while he was meditating a scheme of a very aggravated character. The lords and

gentlemen of Connaught had surrendered their estates to the crown in the reign of Elizabeth, and taken back grants from the queen. Again, they were surrendered to King James himself for a supposed defect in the former conveyances, and new grants made to the proprietors by that prince. But it was discovered that these new grants, by the neglect of the officer of the court, had not been enrolled in Chancery, though a sum of three thousand pounds had been paid for the enrolment. The king now proposed to take advantage of this clerical omission, and to deprive the gentry of an entire province of their estates, with a view to a *plantation* on the plan of the Ulster settlement, but with an intention to make it a much more profitable affair.

The men of Connaught, in this alarming emergency, did not attempt to appeal to the king's justice, honour, or humanity. They did better; they addressed themselves to his avarice, and proposed to pay heavy fines for *another* confirmation of their titles. The king hesitated; the temptation of an immediate sum of money was hard to be resisted; and, while he struggled between the allurement of a larger sum in prospect, and the bait of a smaller one close by, the unhappy prince expired.

The rapacity and violence of James's government in Ireland, seemed to flow from his high

notions of prerogative, which were not checked or guided, as in the case of Elizabeth and her father, by a strong and vigorous understanding. His education had given him large views, and his natural incapacity had made him unable to deal with them. His plans in Ireland were without system or consistency; but they were not all without good effect: the evil, however, greatly predominated.

If he had done nothing more than suffer the country to rest, after the grievous struggles of Elizabeth's reign, he would have been a benefactor to Ireland. To the exhaustion occasioned by those struggles, he owed the little opposition he encountered in his government of that country. As James succeeded to the tranquillity purchased by Elizabeth's wars, so Charles reaped the troubles sown by his father's despotism.

CHAP. XIII.

REIGN OF CHARLES I.

THE reign of Charles the First, including the period of the Cromwellian war, was the second great era in Irish history. Charles resembled his father in character; he possessed the same childish and erroneous views of the nature of kingly power, with the same weakness and unsteadiness of principle; but was perhaps, upon the whole, a better and more amiable man. His reign in Ireland was a mere continuation of the former, though he appears to have been more inclined than James, if he had been permitted, to do justice to his Irish subjects.

It was the good or evil fortune of Charles, to possess in Ireland a much abler servant, and perhaps a more unprincipled one, in Lord Strafford than his father had in Chichester. Under this new lord-deputy the inquisitions into titles were resumed and eagerly prosecuted; and the wickedness of this scheme of spoliation and extortion received a frightful lustre and relief from the rank and talents of the man who avowed and seemed to glory in its enormity. Jurors who refused to find for the crown against evidence

and facts, were, for such a daring adherence to justice and their oaths, committed to prison and fined in excessive penalties.

To put an end to those vexations, and the persecutions for recusancy, that is, the non-attendance at the protestant worship, and various other grievances of which the people loudly complained, the catholic lords and gentry, assisted by many protestants of rank, drew up a number of articles, in the nature of a Bill of Rights, for the security of the subject and the peace and tranquillity of the realm, which were presented to the king, and his assent and confirmation humbly solicited. The catholics offering, at the same time, upon the granting of those Graces, as they were called, to assess themselves in a sum of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds for the use of the crown.

The meeting at which this measure was settled was held in Dublin in 1628, and the whole transaction does credit to the spirit and wisdom of those concerned. It is but fair towards Charles to say, that he seems at all times to have been sensible of the justice and expediency of the measures proposed, and very willing to concur in giving them effect, if left to his own natural impressions. Upon the first proposition, the king accepted of the subsidies, and assented to the Graces, and promised his royal confirmation.

If Charles had, in this instance, but possessed

firmness and resolution enough to be honest, Ireland, it is likely, would have been saved the most violent revolution she ever experienced, and the king might have preserved his crown and life; such is the importance of fixed principles, and the danger of a mere fluctuating expediency. But, unhappily, the king was a man of weak mind and weaker principle, and he was frightened from his better resolution by the clamours of the puritan party in Ireland and England, and seduced by the dishonest councils of Strafford, who advised postponing the Graces, relying upon his own address to extort the money without them, and reserving those important concessions as instruments of another and future extortion.

The Charter of Graces forms the great subject of all the leading transactions of this reign, and explain of themselves the views of those who so anxiously and perseveringly sought, as well as the spirit which actuated the party who opposed them.

"The most important articles of this charter were those which secured the subjects of the realm in the quiet enjoyment of their lands, by limiting the king's title to sixty years, and declaring void all claims of any earlier period;—that which relieved catholics from the necessity of taking the oath of supremacy in various cases in which it was occasionally required when the

chief governor was inclined to annoy or extort money from them;—that which allowed the inhabitants of Connaught to make a new enrolment of their titles.

"By other articles provision was made for restraining the burden and oppressions of the soldiery; for preventing grants of *protection* to persons guilty of crimes; for resuming or limiting various patents of monopolies; for regulating the collection of the king's rents and assessments for robberies; for restraining the abuse of reprieving malefactors; for moderating the fees of courts and sheriffs; for reducing the provosts marshals to one in each province; and confining the execution of martial law to times of war and rebellion.

"Witnesses in private causes were no longer to be bound over to the castle-chamber; nor jurors to any court, but on very apparent evidence of corruption and partiality. Custodiams of lands, granted upon outlawries, were to be discharged immediately, on a certificate of reversal. The testimony of persons notoriously infamous, or capitally convicted, was not to be taken in evidence on trials, except under due restrictions.

"The Court of Wards was also regulated and abridged in the exercise of its powers. No grants, or alienations, or leases of men's lands were to be made by that court, before the parties

interested were personally summoned. No *relief* was to be paid for lands not exceeding five pounds a-year. No clerk, or inferior officer in that court, was to be a commissioner for taking offices, and various other abuses of the Court of Wards were regulated and reformed.

"For the more equal distribution of public burdens and charges, bishops, and patentees of dissolved monasteries, who pretended to certain privileges and exemptions, were made subject to them.

"It was provided, that pluralities of benefices should not be bestowed upon unqualified persons; that incumbents should be compelled to preach, or keep efficient curates; that commissions should be issued, for enquiring into endowed vicarages, possessed by lay impropriators, and to reform the abuse; and that the incumbents of extensive rectories should be enjoined to maintain preaching ministers in chapels of ease.

"It was provided, that all unlawful exactions, taken by the established clergy, be reformed and regulated. That no extraordinary warrants *of assistance*, touching clandestine marriages, christenings, or burials, or any contumacies, pretended against ecclesiastical jurisdiction, are to be issued or executed by any chief governor, nor are the clergy to be permitted to keep any private prisons of their own for these causes; but delinquents, in that kind, are, henceforth, to be com-

mitted to the king's public gaols, and by the king's officers.

"It was provided, for the advancement of trade, that several commodities might be transported from Ireland into any of the king's dominions, or other countries in amity with him; that live cattle might be shipped to any of his dominions without restraint or licence; and wool transported into England, only paying the ordinary customs and duties.

"The new settlers in Ulster were confirmed in their estates, and an act of parliament stipulated to be passed, for a free and general pardon of all past offences."

Such were the GRACES which were supposed to be exclusively for the benefit of the catholics, and for which, they proposed to pay his majesty a sum of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds! in three subsidies of forty thousand pounds each.

Strafford not only prevented the grant of the Graces, but he boldly avowed that he had done so. And not satisfied with this injury to the people and country which he governed, and which it was his duty to serve, he took up the wicked project of a new plantation of Connaught, which James had not lived to accomplish, and proceeded in the work with a zeal and vigour which, whether in good or evil, were peculiarly

his own. In other quarters he was equally active in raising money. He extorted seventeen thousand pounds from the O'Byrnes of Wicklow, on pretence of defect of title; and seventy, from the city of London, as proprietors of northern estates; a step which, probably, contributed to cost him his life, as it increased the clamour which was already rising against him in London, and added some powerful enemies to the number which his arrogance and his talents had already procured him.

Strafford's administration, though an exceedingly guilty one, was not wholly without merit. He attempted to reform the established church, then known in Ireland only as an engine of oppression, and to make it, what it ought to be, an instrument of popular instruction. He attempted to improve and new-model the college of Dublin; he was the first to encourage and promote the linen manufacture, and expended large sums of money of his private property in the undertaking. It is true, that he also did all in his power to injure and destroy the woollen trade of Ireland, then beginning to flourish. But it was the genius of the man to mingle good and evil; and he had become apprehensive that the woollen manufacture of Ireland might arrive at a degree of prosperity injurious to the trade of England; and it was the notion of the day to

consider that the pre-eminence of the latter country was to be promoted by the depression of all others.

The discontent occasioned by the insincerity of the king, on the subject of the Graces; the terror of Strafford's violent proceedings; the menaces of the puritans (a party then rising into power) against the catholics; the decline of the royal authority, and the approaching commotions in England, — all these circumstances furnished ground of hope to the dispossessed Irish of the late reign, that the time was arrived for making a struggle, with fair prospect of success, for the recovery of their ancient inheritances.

The higher classes of the expelled Irish had been received with distinction in France, Spain, Germany, and Italy. Many of them held high rank in the armies of the three former powers. Those were now in close and frequent communication with each other, and with the continental courts. Ireland was full of their vassals and connections, with whom they held constant intercourse, and who endured with impatience the neighbourhood of the strangers who held possession of their lands.

The great Earl of Tyrone was dead, but his son held a command in the Spanish army, and was well disposed to attempt the recovery of his father's extensive possessions. In this design he was assisted by a young Irishman, who is

represented as having possessed great accomplishments and talents, and considerable popularity with his countrymen. Like young O'Neil, he inherited only the claims and titles of his ancestors. His family had experienced great vicissitudes, and they had struggled long and gallantly with their fate. The O'Moores were expelled their lands, in the reigns of Edward and of Mary, and their sept almost extirpated by military execution. But during O'Neil's wars in the reign of Elizabeth, they regained their paternal possessions, and waged a fierce and spirited warfare with the English power, throughout the whole of that period; and were at length only subdued by the final overthrow of that chief.

O'Moore had been the able and active lieutenant of Hugh O'Neil, and his son was well fitted to fill the same place towards the descendant of that distinguished lord. They consulted and arranged their plans upon the continent; and having received the strongest assurances of support from Cardinal Richlieu, then governing in France, and from the courts of Spain and Rome; and having communicated their designs to several of their countrymen, and engaged the services of the numerous Irish officers, then serving in the armies of the continental powers, —O'Moore at length proceeded to Ireland.

The state of Ireland had been such, since the first years of Elizabeth's reign, that it had never

been very difficult to bring about an insurrection. O'Moore found every thing, in this respect, in a much greater state of forwardness than he had anticipated; and he soon discovered that he had coadjutors whom he could not have hoped for. The most effectual of these were the lords justices Parsons and Borlase.

Strafford had paid the penalty of his offences, and fallen a victim to the ingratitude of an unworthy master. The same folly and infatuation which led the unhappy Charles to abandon his most attached friend, induced him also to appoint two treacherous enemies to the same important trust. Parsons and Borlase were the tools and creatures of the parliament.

The justices were glad to forward O'Moore's plans of insurrection, of which they had perfect knowledge, with a view of embarrassing the king, and with a hope of forfeitures; and though they have been treated by Leland and other writers, as persons of mean and contemptible abilities, they appear to have conducted their scheme of perplexing the government, and creating insurrection and confusion in Ireland, with considerable address and ingenuity. With the assistance of those able associates, O'Moore found his task easy of rousing the northern Irish to arms, and inflaming them with a sense of the injuries they had suffered.

The assistance of the lords justices happened

at this period to be indispensable to the plot of the young adventurer. O'Neil was assassinated while preparing to set out for Ireland; and the northern portion of the enterprise fell into the hands of Sir Phelim O'Neil, a man of little power and mean abilities, and the whole scheme would probably have failed, if in this emergency it had rested upon the support of the northerns alone.

The lords justices were aware that the north was likely to be the scene where the insurrection would first break into violence, because it was the most recently confiscated portion of Ireland, and those were still alive who had been forcibly ejected from their lands, and were eager to retaliate the violence of which they had been the victims; but it was not to that quarter they looked for the rich harvest of confiscation which they anticipated. The north was too recently planted, and the new proprietors were all protestants. Confiscations could only be expected of catholic property.

The justices, therefore, cast their eyes upon the Anglo-Irish lords of the Pale, as having the largest and most valuable estates, and being, both as catholics and loyalists, most likely to be given up by the parliament to plunder.

The nature and cause of the rebellion of 1641, require little explanation: they are apparent upon the face of the first transactions of that

period. The first movements were made upon the planted lands of Ulster, and the first proceedings of the rebels were simply to take possession of the properties from which they had been so recently expelled.

The inhabitants of Tyrone, Monaghan, Leitrim, Longford, Cavan, Fermanagh, Derry, and Donegal, had all been driven from their farms and cottages, and forced into the mountains at the point of the pike, for certain offences of which the tanists, or chiefs of those districts, were adjudged guilty. But as the people of those districts acknowledged in the tanist no more than a life interest, they were not, according to their construction of law and justice, accountable for his offences. The property of the land was in the clan, and could not be forfeited for the transgression of the chief. They would have submitted to a change of landlord; but could not acknowledge the justice of the sentence, which expelled the occupant of the soil from his paternal acres.

The expelled tenantry of these counties had continued pent up in the mountains, till the disorders of the government in England afforded them the opportunity of combining with their exiled chiefs, in one great effort, for their mutual restoration. The time was now arrived, and in the winter of 1641, in the month of October, they descended in vast torrents from the moun-

tains, swept the new plantations from the face of the land, and obtained full possession of their ancient settlements.

This great change was accomplished without bloodshed. The plan of the insurrection prescribed, that the English settlers should be dispossessed peaceably, and that the Scotch should not be at all disturbed or molested. The latter were, many of them, connected in the country, and some of their settlements had been made with the sanction of the Irish chiefs.

But this wise and humane principle of the insurrection did not endure long, nor perhaps was it in the nature of the case that it should do so. The first military movements were directed by Sir Phelim O'Neil; and though successful from the overwhelming nature of the force collected, and the total absence of any effectual opposition, yet when at length a vigorous resistance was made, and the incapacity of the leader began to display itself, the fury of the collision produced its natural effect upon the tumultuous mass now in movement, on both sides. Both parties shed blood freely. The rage of the Irish exhausted itself upon the intruders upon their lands. The British and Scotch retaliated in the massacre at Island Magee, and wherever else an opportunity presented itself.

Nor ought we to be surprised that the

slaughter committed by the Irish in the first burst of the rebellion was grossly exaggerated. It is in the nature of fear to exaggerate; but in this case there was even a greater exaggerator than fear. The cause of the quarrel was property; and it was the interest of the party whose claim was opposed to that of the old Irish proprietors, to represent them as monsters, who could not be satiated with blood. Accordingly the Irish were represented as having put to death thirty thousand protestant inhabitants of the north. It was, however, admitted, that a great proportion of the northern protestants were saved and protected, for this fact could not be denied. And it is also ascertained, that the entire protestant population of the north of Ireland did not then amount to twenty thousand. Cromwell's commission of enquiry estimated the number killed at six thousand; and this also was probably an exaggeration, as Cromwell's commissioners were neither inclined to underrate, nor very strict observers of the truth.

Sir William Petty considers this rebellion as a game played for the vast estates which in the late and present reign had passed into the hands of new proprietors. Beside the plantations of James and Charles, and the Desmond forfeitures, and the King's and Queen's counties, the new lords deputies had just expelled the Irish inhabitants

and proprietors from the counties of Wicklow and Longford, and appropriated the greater part of the lands as their private property. "But upon playing this game or match," says Petty, "upon so great odds, the English won, and have among, and besides, other pretences, a gamester's right at least to their estates; but as for the blood shed in the contest, God best knows who did occasion it."

This is the right view of the case; and there was no one more competent to form a correct view than Petty; he was a man of cool head and sound understanding, and an actor in the scenes he describes.

The cruelties committed by the Irish were confined to the first collision of the insurrection. When Owen O'Neil took the command, he punished every act of inhumanity with the utmost rigour. It is but justice to the Irish to say, that throughout their long wars during the period of Elizabeth's reign, though for many years triumphant, and in possession of most part of the kingdom, they disgraced their cause with no cruelties or excesses committed out of the field of battle, notwithstanding the example shown them by the inhuman outrages perpetrated by Grey, Carew, and others. Hugh O'Neil, who led his countrymen in the severe conflicts of that reign, is well entitled to add to

the praise of talent, the higher commendation of humanity.

The northerns being now in arms, the great point with the lords justices was to compel by insult, injury, or force, the Anglo-Irish lords to take part in the insurrection; and though the prudence and wariness of these lords made the scheme difficult of accomplishment, it was ultimately found not to be beyond the skill and perseverance of the justices.

While the war raged around them, and the Irish were every where masters of the field, the lords of the Pale were, on various pretences, refused permission to reside in Dublin, or other places of security; and though compelled to remain at their houses in the country, they were not allowed to have arms for their defence. They were thus left exposed to force and solicitation from the Irish, while the government continued to heap petty vexations and disgraces upon them. Still the patience and steadiness of the great proprietors seemed unshaken, and the justices were compelled to push the game with more vigour.

Parliament had stood adjourned to November, and the public looked forward to its meeting with great anxiety, when the lords justices further prorogued it to February. This extraordinary measure, at such a crisis, excited general discontent. The great lords of the

Pale remonstrated boldly, and urged the necessity of calling parliament together to consider of the state of the nation. At length the justices consented that the houses should be permitted to meet for *one* day, in order to prepare a declaration against the REBELS, and for this purpose only: the object being to obtain a parliamentary recognition that the proceedings in the north were a rebellion against the king's authority, which the Irish universally denied; stating, that their taking arms was solely directed against the king's enemies in Ireland, who abused his authority for their private profit, as the parliament of England did, in order to overturn his throne.

Sir Phelim O'Neil not only stated broadly that he acted with the concurrence of the king, but produced a commission, purporting to be from his majesty, with the broad seal attached, authorising him to take arms. The commission was a forgery, but seems to have produced some effect at the moment; and the character of the king was unfortunately so bad for veracity, as to make it at the time difficult to say whether the commission was genuine or not.

The declaration that the northern armament was rebellious was obtained from parliament, but with some difficulty, the houses being more inclined to treat those formidable movements with the gentler term of DISCONTENT. It was now thought right to enquire into the nature

of the discontents which had occasioned such alarming proceedings, and to take measures for the pacification of the kingdom. They had obtained from the justices with difficulty a second day; but more than two days were necessary for the work they now proposed.

Borlase and Parsons took fright at the notion of a speedy termination of hostilities, and refused peremptorily to prolong the session beyond the two days. It was the purpose of the British parliament to protract and encourage the war in Ireland, as it furnished them with a convenient excuse for raising troops, purchasing arms and ammunition, and levying war against the king. The Irish lords justices, in interposing to prevent any accommodation with the northerns, acted from the double motive of obedience to the views of the English parliament, and the hope of profit by confiscation.

They prorogued parliament, and, under pretence of private information, seized some of the principal catholics of both houses, and committed them to prison, with every circumstance of rigour and indignity. After a little time they proceeded to prosecute their prisoners on charges of high treason; while, without any attempt at concealment, they hired false witnesses to swear against them. A charge for the hire of those witnesses was read at the council-board, at the castle of Dublin, and seems to have passed with-

out notice, as an ordinary occurrence. It was not the object of the justices to conceal the wickedness of their proceedings: their intention was, that their purposes should be known, in order to the accomplishment of their great object, the forcing of the catholic proprietors into insurrection by terror.

Finally, they succeeded: the lords of the Pale found themselves compelled to join the insurrection. But in taking this decisive step, they still preserved their caution, and were anxious to give to their conduct the appearance not only of a proceeding forced upon them, but as one also fully as necessary to the real interests of the crown, as indispensable to their own safety. They stated truly that the justices were the king's enemies, as well as theirs, and the tools and agents of the English parliament.

It is remarkable of this powerful and devoted party, that they acted under circumstances of almost irresistible compulsion, and that, in the outset of their career, they used as much prudence and caution, perhaps, as the case admitted of. They joined the northern Irish at a solemn meeting, upon the hill of Crofty, and soon after published a declaration, stating their unalterable allegiance to the king, and recounting the reasons and motives for their taking arms.

There were now four great parties in Ireland, all actuated by different motives: that of the

ancient, or pure Irish; that of the Anglo-Irish, both of which formed the great body of the CONFEDERATES; that of the king's party, as it was called; and that of the puritans, or parliament party.

These four apparently composed but two great divisions; the king's party and the parliament party affecting to acknowledge but one interest; and the Irish and Anglo-Irish parties seeming to be bound by one principle, and to act together for one object. But they were all really distinct. The separation between the two latter, however, was much broader and more decisive than between the former.

The arming of the northern Irish, which had been concerted by the Irish officers on the Continent, had for its object the recovery of their ancient estates, and some few went the length of a separation of Ireland from the crown of Great Britain. The views of the Anglo-Irish went no further than a confirmation of the Charter of Graces, and protection against the designs of the puritans. They were opposed to any restoration of property to the ancient Irish, and still more hostile to every scheme of Irish independence. They feared that if Ireland were severed from the British crown, it would give such a preponderance to the old Irish interest, as would endanger their own possessions, or at least affect the rank and station they then held in the coun-

try. Instead of being the first in power and importance, they could only, after such an event, look to a second place in the nation. Nothing, therefore, was more sound and sincere than the loyalty of the Anglo-Irish lords. They were united with the ancient Irish in the insurrection, by force of circumstances, not by choice. A community of religion was the chief bond, as it was the pretext of a common persecution; next, the necessity of self-defence; and, in some instances, the force of kindred and relationship.

The third party was a small one; but it was one of great importance, as well from the persons composing it, as from the part they had to perform. The party of the confederates, in its two great branches of Irish and Anglo-Irish, were all catholics. The king's party was catholic and protestant: it consisted of catholic lords, whose horror of Irishry was too strong for any fears on the score of religion to compel them into even a temporary union with that interest, or whose loyalty could not be shaken by any delinquencies of the crown, or made to yield to the safety of the nation. Of this class was Lord Clanrickard, a man of too much firmness and decision to be driven into a position of danger by the practices of the local government, and of loyalty too exalted to submit to the rule of ordinary motive.

But the most considerable person of this party

was the Earl of Ormond, a man of great ability, but more remarkable for prudence, firmness, and discretion than for the higher qualities of mind. Ormond, in any conjuncture of affairs, would have been a leading man, but in that which was now at hand he was eminently qualified to shine. The politics of that period in Ireland were difficult, puzzled, and embroiled to the last degree, and no man was better fitted than the earl to tread his way through the mazes in which so many were bewildered. That he was loyal to the king there can be no doubt, but, unlike Clanrickard, he had other passions, to which his loyalty would at any time give way; — these were, his hatred of popery, his dislike of the Irishry, and his love of wealth. Ormond never hesitated to sacrifice the king's interest when wealth was to be acquired, or popery or Irishry to be subdued. He was a man of infinite management, shrewd, patient, false, a profound dissembler, abounding in resources, of moderate capacity in the field, and always preserving, in the intercourse of society, a quiet self-possession, and a lofty and dignified demeanour.

The other chief members of this party were Inshiquin and Broghil, both able men, both resembling the Lord Ormond in some particulars. Of talents equal or perhaps superior in the field,

but in personal dignity and political address very inferior; in war both these men were sanguinary and cruel, a reproach from which Ormond himself was not exempt. They both commanded in the service of the king, and occasionally against him, transferring their swords to the parliament, when that happened to be the prevailing side. On whatever side Inshiquin commanded, he was the scourge of his country. Of one of the noblest and most ancient Irish families, he seemed actuated by a thirst for the blood of his countrymen hardly to be satiated; wherever he marched, the burnt crops, the ruined cottages of the peasants, the dead and mangled bodies of age and infancy strown upon the way, pointed out the route of the lord Inshiquin.

On taking Cashel, he massacred the priests at their altars, and put to death several hundreds of the inhabitants; he committed similar deeds of barbarity in other towns. The memory of his murders is still engraven upon the heart of the country, and his name will remain for ever united with that of Grey, and Coote, and Cromwell, a curse and an anathema in Ireland. The peasants of Clare and Limerick still scare their children with the name of the bloody Morough O'Brien, and tell of the judgment that has descended upon his posterity, that no male child should ever be born to the name of Inshiquin.

Lord Broghil was the son of the earl of Cork,

and undoubtedly a man of talent, though less remarkable than the other two.

The king's party, it is plain, during the whole parliamentary war, were occupied only with their own interests, and were little attentive to those of his majesty. Ormond frequently tried negotiation with the parliamentarians, and afterwards with Cromwell, but he never was entirely satisfied that he could trust them. Their coarseness and vulgarity disgusted him, and *they* were offended at the fastidiousness and aristocratic demeanour of the proud nobleman. Inshiquin and Broghil had less reserve in betraying their trust. Clanrickard was, perhaps, the only man of the party true to his sovereign; his loyalty was a kind of antique idol, to which he was ready to make any sacrifice.

The puritan or commonwealth party had nothing remarkable in its composition. It had been gradually gaining ground in parliament, and amongst the protestants in Ireland, in proportion as it obtained power in Great Britain, but it continued a very small party till the arrival of the Cromwellian army; before that period, and afterwards, it derived its chief strength, not from its own resources, but from the treachery of the king's party, as this party again owed all its power and importance, not to its own means, but to the jealousies and dissensions of the confederates.

Lord Ormond avowed, that if Ireland was to be surrendered, his resolution was taken, to surrender it rather to the English rebels, than to those who in Ireland professed to be in arms for the king. Rather than give the victory to the confederates, he had made up his mind to ruin the king's cause. In the same manner, amongst the confederates themselves, the Anglo-Irish party lost their cause rather than give a triumph to their associates in arms of the old Irish race. The jealousy of these two parties paralyzed all their operations, placed the country at the feet of Cromwell, and ultimately cost the Anglo-Irish proprietors their estates.

A scheme had been contrived for seizing the castle of Dublin, and getting possession of that city, which seems to have been easy of execution, and failed only through the defection of one of the conspirators. This conspiracy afforded the lords justices the pretext they desired for practising all sorts of enormities; military parties were sent from Dublin to make excursions into the neighbouring country, with instructions to plunder, burn, and destroy indiscriminately, and to put all persons to the sword, without regard to age, sex, rank, or condition. At the castle the rack was in full employment; all who had the taint of Irishry or popery were obliged to fly the city; and the terror of the torture haunted the imaginations of all men. Such was the rage

for applying this horrid torment, that ordinary messengers, arriving at the castle with letters and despatches, were seized and put upon the wheel. All those particulars are so extraordinary, that if they were not authenticated beyond all question they would hardly be credible.

On the approach of revolutions, the wickedness that lounges in our drawing-rooms, or creeps in our streets, often throws away its mask of smiles or humility, and glories to confess the depravity that secures its pre-eminence.

The ruling powers in Ireland, at this time, were not only wicked, but had need of the reputation of wickedness, for the accomplishment of their purposes.

CHAP. XIV.

WAR OF THE CONFEDERATES.

The breaking out of this war fell heavily upon two of the most distinguished men of Ireland, or of any age or country; James Usher, archbishop of Armagh, and Robert Boyle, distinguished by the name (and well entitled to it) of the philosopher.

Usher was born in Dublin, in 1581, and graduated in Trinity College, of which he was one of the first students; he was made bishop of Meath, and afterwards archbishop of Armagh, by James the First, who was scholar enough to be able to appreciate his extraordinary talents.

The war drove him from his see, and his country, and reduced him from affluence to comparative indigence. He lived to the advanced age of seventy-five, an uncomfortable and unsettled life in England, in the midst of the disorders of the time, to which the eminence of his character and talents particularly exposed him.

Usher devoted his great talents to the service of his country, and especially to what he consi-

dered the greatest work that could be accomplished in Ireland, the conversion of his Roman Catholic countrymen from the communion of the church of Rome. To this great object his preaching was particularly directed, and it occupied in a great degree the literary labours of his life. With this view, he employed himself in researches into the condition of the primitive church of Ireland, and of the other Christian churches throughout the world which existed previous to the establishment of the authority of the church of Rome in the West, the constitution of the Asiatic churches, and the history of the Jews and other ancient nations connected with the divine economy of the old and new law.

Usher's labours produced little effect in his life time; men's minds were too much exasperated by mutual injuries, and temporal interests mingled too largely in the debate, to permit any one to listen, without a bias, to the voice of reason. And it is to be regretted, that in calmer times, neither his country, of which he was justly the boast, nor the college, of which he was the brightest ornament, have yet produced a scholar of taste or power enough to clothe himself with the fame of this great author, and to give his country a complete edition of his works.

Usher enjoyed the friendship and esteem of the wise and learned throughout Europe. The French government offered him an asylum and

a pension; the unhappy Charles distinguished him with his particular regard; and Cromwell contended for the honour of directing and superintending his funeral.

Though holding the highest rank in the established church of Ireland, Usher's religion seems to have been simple Christianity, and capable of being accommodated to any unobjectionable mode or ceremonial of worship. He considered, however, the church of Rome as being in error, not in ceremonial merely, but in fundamental doctrine, and was, from the purest motives, the determined enemy of that communion.

Usher was, in private life, as simple, as good, and as amiable a man as he was distinguished in public. His virtues were equal to his renown. He was an impressive and eloquent preacher; but his habits of severe study unfitted him for many of the duties of his office of archbishop. Even in this high office he was nothing more than the humble Christian pastor, and the retired student of sacred literature and philosophy.

Boyle was born at Lismore, in the county of Cork. He was, like Usher, a Christian philosopher. His life was devoted to the study of the works of the Creator, and an admiration of his wisdom and power. His researches in the physical creation were as various, profound, and successful as were the labours of his great coun-

tryman and contemporary in exploring the antiquities of Christianity and the oracles of God.

Boyle is distinguished throughout the world for his eminent services in the cause of science, for modesty, piety, and private worth rarely equalled amongst mankind.

When the war broke out he was a young man, and was travelling on the Continent; and his father, then the greatest and wealthiest individual in Ireland, was so overwhelmed by the burst of the insurrection, as to be unable to supply his son with the means of returning home, or of living abroad. For some years his sole resource was in the kindness of his friends on the Continent. The conclusion of the war restored him to affluence, which he always employed in the service of his country and of humanity. Like Usher, he employed his wealth and talents in the great work of promoting the reformation in Ireland, having, at his private expense, printed and distributed large editions of the Bible in the Irish language. But his zeal in the cause of his country was not confined to the distribution of Bibles,—his wealth, his talents, and the influence of his reputation, were actively employed in promoting every scheme for the happiness and improvement of the people of Ireland.

The father of Robert Boyle was a remarkable man, but more distinguished for having been the father of such a son, than for all his wealth and honours. He had come to Ireland as an adven-

turer in Elizabeth's reign. The younger son of a respectable English family; his outfit for Ireland, then the land of fortune and enterprise, consisted of a sum of money not amounting to thirty pounds, and some letters of recommendation.

His first appearance in a public capacity was as secretary to Carew, lord president of Munster, at the siege of Kinsale, when Ireland was so nearly wrested from the crown of Great Britain. Upon the extraordinary termination of that siege, Richard Boyle was despatched by the lord deputy to the queen with the glad tidings of her great and unexpected victory. Determined to be the first to communicate the important news, he is reported to have crossed the sea from Kinsale to Bristol, in an open boat, in the depth of winter, and in a gale of wind, and travelling rapidly from the latter town, reached London in a space of time, then almost miraculous, and seldom even since equalled. The queen received her messenger as those are always received who bring glad tidings. But the amazing rapidity of the communication, and the boldness of Boyle's exploit in crossing the sea, interested the queen in his own history and affairs, and he was too able a man not to know how to improve the interest he had created. The message to the queen laid the foundation of his fortune.

His rapid and successful voyage in a stormy sea, and in an open boat from Kinsale to Bristol,

is not so wonderful a circumstance as it appears. Those who know the Kinsale hookers, are aware that they can live in almost any sea, and can go before the wind with little risk, though blowing the heaviest gale. Boyle knew that his undertaking required only courage, and a firm mind, and that the peril was really not great.

Boyle was not distinguished for brilliancy of character, but he was remarkable for prudence and sagacity. He soon surpassed all those who had set out with him, and most who had gone before him, in the extent of property and the height of power which he obtained in Ireland. Carew, Raleigh, Mountjoy, Grey, these and many others, whose acquisitions in Ireland were sprinkled with blood and tears, hardly left an acre to their posterity. Boyle's acquisitions were much more extensive, but they were unstained with guilt, and they have remained permanent and enduring in the family of the first acquirer even to our own times. Much of the Boyle property was obtained by grant from the crown, and a great part also by purchase.

Boyle was remarkable above all the other landholders in Ireland, for the skill and care he bestowed in the improvement of his estates. He made roads, built bridges, planted towns, established manufactories, and spared no expense or labour in promoting the happiness of the people,

and the improvement of the vast extent of country which had come into his hands.

His wealth, influence, and power soon became immense, and he lost no opportunity of increasing them. He added office to office, and place to place, and those honours and emoluments which he could not accumulate upon himself he distributed even to his infant children. There was little delicacy or reserve in those days respecting such matters; and we are not quite sure that the modesty we observe in our own times is not more to be attributed to the restraint of public opinion than to individual moderation.

When Strafford was sent to Ireland in the reign of Charles the First, it happened, as was natural, that the genius of that ambitious and able man instantly discerned a rival and an enemy in Boyle, then in the fulness of his power. They encountered with the instinct and the fierceness of spirits of equal power and engaged in similar pursuits. Strafford was, like Boyle, not merely a rapacious acquirer of property, he was also an improver; then an exceedingly rare character. The views of both went beyond mere personal ambition, and extended to the general good of the country. Boyle was a man of less brilliancy, but much more judgment, than Strafford. The good sense of the one preserved

him from those excesses which the genius of the other did not guard him from.

Boyle added to the other felicities of his life a signal triumph over his rival. He lived to see him perish on the scaffold; and if he had not contributed to shed his blood, his character would have been almost perfect. Unhappily he lent his aid to overwhelm his great antagonist in his last struggle for life, by volunteering evidence against him on his trial. This is the only great blot upon the fame and character of Richard Earl of Cork.

The great Earl of Cork, as he is justly called, lived a long life of uninterrupted prosperity, in the midst of affluence almost unbounded, — surrounded with the state and splendour of a prince, and the family of a patriarch consisting of eighteen or twenty children mostly sons. But this brilliant and happy career closed in clouds and darkness. The inevitable destiny of mortality, which will not bear uninterrupted prosperity, descended upon his latter days. He died, at nearly eighty years of age, in the heat of the war of 1641, deprived of all his estates by the successes of the confederates, unable to send a small sum of money to his favourite son, then on the continent, and at a moment when every event seemed to tell him, that the labours of his life were made void, and his property and power

were passed away for ever, from him and from his posterity.

Among the officers who had planned upon the continent the great war of 1641, in concert with Cardinal Richlieu and the court of Spain, Owen O'Neil was the most considerable. He was a near kinsman of the young Earl of Tyrone, lately deceased, and was now head of that ancient and noble family, so long illustrious for the splendid inheritance of talent. Owen proved the purity of his descent by the vigour of his genius. He had served upon the continent in the Spanish and Imperial armies with great reputation; and had been governor of Arras when the French besieged that fortress in 1640, and, though the town was surrendered, his defence extorted the admiration of the enemy.

As a commander, he was circumspect, prudent, resolute, and intrepid; never suffering his enemy to make a mistake unpunished, and never committing himself unawares. He was said to excel in defensive war, and to be, of all military commanders of that age, the most accomplished general of the Fabian school. He was, therefore, particularly fitted for the task he had to perform in Ireland, where he had not only to wage a war, but to create an army; and where the nature of the climate and the character of the country, abounding in lakes, rivers, and

mountains, made a defensive war, if steadily pursued, sure to be successful.

O'Neil, upon his landing, was elected "tanist" and general-in-chief by the northern Irish. Their joy was unbounded in thus restoring the dignity of "The O'Neil," in the person of a soldier worthy to bear it. The first public act of the general was, to express his strongest abhorrence and detestation of the cruelties which had been perpetrated on the British settlers by Sir Phelim and the mob who followed his standard. He declared, that if such acts were persevered in, he would join the enemy, or quit the country.

The presence of such a man in Ireland at this crisis was no small event; uniting, as he did, great military talent and experience with all the influence and power which the name of "O'Neil" commanded. His first operation was to form an army of the undisciplined crowd which had followed Sir Phelim O'Neil into the field. He exercised his soldiers only in petty affairs, and where the success was almost certain, with a view to create that confidence in themselves and their leaders, the want of which had been the chief cause of the failures of the Irish troops in their own country.

The courage of an army is different from the courage of the individuals who compose it. An army of brave men may, as a military body,

want the requisite courage. Courage must be sustained by confidence, and he who has perfect confidence in his individual power may have none at all in the perfectness or capability of the body of which he is a member. The vulgar do not discern that defeat is more generally the result of a want of skill or confidence than of cowardice; and they ignorantly attribute the latter defect sometimes to the bravest of mankind.

It used to be remarked, that the Irish, who were some of the best troops in Europe on foreign service, were frequently very inferior in their own country; and most writers have contented themselves with noticing the fact, without attempting to account for it, though the cause lay upon the very surface of the case. Their own country had been to the Irish the theatre of an unbroken series of calamities. The defects of their political institutions, and the want of any national government for ages, had made skill and courage in the field of little avail. This was felt, and the feeling was like the hand of death upon the heart of an Irish army: they could not shake it off; and yet, with all this, no country ever made a longer and more obstinate struggle, but it was a struggle in the midst of despair.

While O'Neil was occupied in disciplining his army, he was every day receiving small sup-

plies of arms, ammunition, and stores of various kinds from France. These were generally accompanied by valuable accessions of skill and military talent, in the persons of considerable numbers of Irish and foreign veteran officers lately discharged from the French service by Cardinal Richlieu. Those important acquisitions did not, however, tempt the cautious O'Neil into active operations: he continued to exercise his troops in marches, encampments, and constructing field fortifications, and especially in the great art of military obedience, in which, from the almost voluntary nature of the service, the Irish troops were very deficient.

While O'Neil was thus employed in the military department, the clergy and Anglo-Irish lords were active in organizing a system of civil government. In this indispensable work the clergy took the lead; and the order of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which subsisted in the church, furnished a model for the construction of the new fabric of civil polity.

It was easy to convene the clergy under their various authorities which had stood unbroken and unimpaired amidst the shocks of war and the dissolution of the civil power, — a power exposed to perpetual alteration and decay, while the forms and ordinances of ecclesiastical establishments seem to partake of the imperishable nature of the subject with which they are

conversant. How many thrones, empires, and constitutions have perished since the Bishop of Rome fixed his chair upon the ruins of the Capitol? And still, in the slow and imperceptible decline of that power, how admirably regulated and combined is its discipline and authority! — scarcely yielding before the measured progress of liberty and philosophy, which have at length learned, that it is their true interest not to extinguish the source of light, but to correct its impurities.

The first step was made by the Catholic archbishop of Armagh summoning his clergy to a synod. This synod declared the war lawful and pious; and published various ordinances denouncing all violent and unlawful proceedings, and strictly prohibiting the killing, plundering, or otherwise abusing the enemy.

A general synod of the Catholic clergy of Ireland was next held at Kilkenny, in the month of May 1642. "The acts of this assembly," says Leland, "were numerous and solemn. They began with declaring, that the war maintained by the Catholics against sectaries and puritans, for the defence of the Catholic religion; the prerogative of the king; the honour and safety of the queen and royal issue; the conservation of the rights and liberties of Ireland, and of their own lives and fortunes, to be just and lawful. They disclaim all belief or acceptance

of any letters or proclamations, published in the king's name, until their own agents should be assured of his real will and intentions. They direct, that all the confederates should be united by an oath of association, and denounce sentence of excommunication on all who should refuse to take it, — against all *neuters;* against all who assisted the enemy; against all who should invade the possessions of any Catholic, or any Irish Protestant not an adversary to their cause. They forbid all distinctions and comparisons between the old Irish and the new Irish; they direct, that exact registers should be kept in every province of the cruelties and murders committed by the puritans; and denounce ecclesiastical censures on those of their own people who should commit the like excesses.

"They ordain, that provincial councils, composed of clergy and laity, and a general national council be formed, to which the others should be subordinate; that embassies should be sent from this assembly to foreign potentates; and that the emperor, the King of France, and the pope should be particularly solicited to grant assistance to their cause."

These were the principal acts of the clergy. The nobility and gentry then resident at Kilkenny united with them in framing the oath of association, in naming the members of the "supreme council," of which Lord Mountgarret

was chosen president, and in appointing a general assembly of the whole nation to meet in that city in the ensuing month of October.

The convention of Kilkenny was soon organized in pursuance of those resolutions; and it will not suffer by comparison with any convention, English or French, which political events have at any time produced. Their proceedings were temperate, orderly, and firm. Their plan of general and provincial government was arranged upon a principle which established a due administration of the laws, and a wise distribution and subordination of authority. A council of twelve was appointed for each county, with judicial and executive powers, and were authorised to decide upon all questions of a public or private nature within the county. From these councils there lay an appeal to the provincial councils, which consisted of two deputies from each county; and from the provincial councils there was an appeal to the SUPREME COUNCIL of IRELAND, which was composed of twenty-four persons chosen by the convention.

A majority of two-thirds was necessary to decide upon any measure in the supreme council, which was invested with the executive powers of the government, and was furnished with a guard of honour of five hundred foot and two hundred horse.

The convention declared their adherence to the common law of England, and the statute law of Ireland, where not repugnant to the rights of the Catholic church, or THE LIBERTIES of IRELAND; and they commanded all persons to bear faith and allegiance to the king; renouncing at the same time and denying the authority of the government administered in Dublin in his name "by a malignant party, to his Highness's great disservice, and in compliance with their confederates, the malignants of England."

The proceedings of the convention of Kilkenny were creditable to that assembly. It is to their honour that they steadily resisted the encroachments of the clergy of their own body, while they were actively engaged in fixing and securing the foundations of civil liberty against the attempts of the crown, which had lately been so formidable in Ireland under Chichester and Strafford, while, at the same time, they were contending with all their might against the parliamentary government in Dublin.

There are several ACTS of this convention extant, which show that they were sincerely actuated by a sense of duty to their country, and desirous to promote its real interests. The character of their proceedings resemble very much that of James's parliament at a later period.

The supreme council proceeded to appoint

their general officers for conducting the war; and to fill up their civil appointments. O'Neil was commissioned to command in Ulster, Preston in Leinster. General Barry commanded in Munster, and Burke in Connaught. While the convention were thus preparing for war, and arranging the administration of their civil affairs, they earnestly solicited "for leave to lay their grievances at the foot of the throne, and for an adjustment of the affairs of the kingdom."

The king himself, now pressed to extremity by the British parliament, was exceedingly desirous to come to an accommodation with the confederates, which might enable him to derive some aid of men and money from Ireland; but his majesty's confidential servants in that country were decidedly opposed to those views of their master. As a middle course, it was proposed that a cessation of hostilities should take place, in order to a final accommodation; but Lord Ormond, and the other *friends* of the king in Ireland, were as little inclined to promote a "cessation" as to facilitate a complete adjustment. Such an arrangement, though it would, in all probability, have effectually relieved the king, and retrieved his affairs, yet would have given a triumph to the popish party, to which Ormond was opposed with the exasperation of hatred, not a little increased by the circumstance that that party included amongst the foremost

and most active of its members Ormond's own brothers and nearest relatives and kindred.

Ormond was too acute a man not already to discern the seeds of destruction in the confederate party; a destruction from which nothing could save them but the early accommodation which was now proposed, which the confederates and the king were equally desirous of, and which was the only measure that could snatch them both from a common ruin. Both finally perished; the king upon the scaffold, and the confederates in the field, or in miserable exile; and this wide waste of life and property was principally due to the unmanly jealousies of this able and artful man; and to his insatiable avarice, which anticipated the vast harvest of confiscation which the destruction of three-fourths of the noble families of Ireland must afford, and which he relied upon his own ability to reap. It was not a mistaken reliance.

Ormond concurred cordially with the parliamentarian party in defeating the king's views; while those views could only be accomplished by giving a triumph or an advantage to the confederates; but he laboured with great skill and some success to procure assistance for the king without conferring any benefit upon that body. He succeeded in obtaining occasional supplies of men and money from the confederates, which were of the utmost importance to the king's service,

while he played with so much skill upon their generosity and compassion for his majesty's situation, that he contrived to cheat them of those benefits to which they were fairly entitled, and which the king was anxious to confer.

The king, when he could be persuaded to cheat his Irish subjects, found a ready and able agent in Ormond; but whenever his majesty chose to be sincere, the earl became suddenly impracticable, and disobeyed his instructions. Ultimately the king found it necessary to employ another agent with the confederates.

Previous to the arrival of the new negotiator, a cessation had been concluded with the confederates, which was signed by Ormond and his officers on the part of the king, and by the lords-justices at Dublin, (now Sir Henry Tichburn, and Borlase, Parsons having been removed.) Ormond consented to this cessation with reluctance, and not until his affairs in the field (for they could not be called the king's) were utterly desperate, and that he had totally failed in every effort to retrieve them. The confederates were masters of the whole kingdom, except Dublin and a few small posts.

No one could then tell, nor can it now be discovered, what this war with the confederates was waged for; the Charter of Graces for which they contended was in every particular extremely moderate and just, and what in the profoundest

peace and the greatest power of the crown ought not for a moment to have been denied. That this charter was not immediately granted seems owing entirely to the councils of Ormond and the opposition of the parliamentarians, who dreaded an accommodation between the king and his Irish subjects, and the assistance which the latter were anxious and were able to afford him.

On the cessation being concluded, the confederates voted supplies of money to his majesty, and sent three or four thousand of their best troops into England to reinforce the royal army.

Ormond had concluded the "cessation" of 1642, not merely with an intention of assisting his royal master, but for the purpose of stopping the current of success, which was flowing rapidly on the side of the confederates, and which, if not interrupted, was likely to render their cause paramount in Ireland. His own operations in the field had been unfortunate, though he had obtained some partial successes over Preston, general of the Leinster Irish forces. Inshiquin had been defeated in Munster by Lord Castlehaven; Clanrickard made not even a show of maintaining himself against the troops of the confederation in Connaught; in Ulster O'Neil had repeatedly foiled and defeated Monk, Monroe, Leven, and all the parliament-

arian officers. The cessation, therefore, was a matter of necessity, to stop the prosperous career of the confederates; and it is a remarkable proof of Ormond's talents, that while this truce was a measure of the most urgent necessity for himself, he made it appear to be a matter of favour and concession to the Irish, and procured from them important supplies of men and money, while in return he gave nothing but vague promises and loose assurances of the king's dispositions and intentions.

There were two parties who clamoured loudly against the cessation—the parliamentarians, who feared the advantage it might be of to the king; and that portion of the confederates which consisted of the old Irish and the clergy. The parliament sent immediate orders to their officers in Ireland not to observe the truce, so that as to them the war was continued.

The old Irish and the church party saw that nothing had been gained, and that much had been lost by the cessation; they were vehement in their condemnation of it; some of their best troops had been sent into England, and were lost to their cause; great sums of money had been voted to his majesty, while they were in want of means to pay their own soldiers, and supply their own expenses: but, above all, their cause, which had been advancing so rapidly to a height of prosperity, was arrested in its course, and was

now in danger of retrograding. The parliamentarians would recruit their forces, the Ormond party would recover its ground, and dissension was introduced into the councils of the confederates by a measure which had not the approbation of the whole body.

CHAP. XV.

The cessation was a fatal blow to the cause of the confederates; it never recovered it. The secret of this measure was to be found in the influence which Ormond possessed over several of the most considerable men of the league, amongst whom were his own brothers and many of his near relatives; but chiefly, in the jealousies which existed, and the different views which were entertained by the two great parties which composed the confederation. The leading object of the old Irish interest, at the head of which was the northern general, O'Neil, was to push the war vigorously, with a view of compelling the crown, or whatever other party might become predominant in Britain, to a final and equitable adjustment of those claims to property and questions of civil rights which remained unsettled, and were a source of infinite grievance and vexation in Ireland. Those who looked to a separation of the two islands, were not numerous; and O'Neil himself was not among them.

If such had been their object, there is no doubt that the confederates could, at this period, easily have accomplished it. The force at their

disposal was more than sufficient; their funds were ample. They had in their service officers of greater talent than any that were opposed to them. The united forces of the parliamentarians, and of Ormond's party, hardly deserved to be called an army. But the Anglo-Irish were jealous of the predominance of the Northerns, and were not willing to push their own cause to a point of success, which would have placed the fate of Ireland, and their own, in the hands of the old Irish interest. They were fully sensible of the ground they lost by the cessation, and submitted to it with a view to check the velocity of their own progress, which was running imminent risk of a success, dangerous to the limited views and middle course they had marked out for themselves. It is obvious, too, that O'Neil and the clergy, who took his side, suspected this design.

O'Neil had not been consulted on the cessation; he disapproved of the whole proceeding, and was offended at the manner of it. And the total disregard of the truce, by the parliamentarian officers in the north, afforded him an opportunity of paying it no attention on his part. Here, then, was that disunion of the Irish party created, which Ormond had discerned in the distance; which he had relied upon from the beginning, and which he well knew how to improve.

By the terms of the cessation, the confederates were permitted to send commissioners to the king, in order to treat for a definitive arrangement and settlement of Ireland. Those commissioners reached his majesty at Oxford, in March, 1644. They were instructed to stipulate for "freedom of religious worship and opinion, and a repeal of all penal statutes on this head; a free parliament, with a suspension of Poyning's law during its session; the repeal of all acts and ordinances of the Irish parliament since August, 1641, the date of the fatal prorogation, to which they imputed all the disorders of the kingdom; the vacating all indictments, attainders, and outlawries in prejudice of Irish Catholics since that day; a release of debts, and a general act of oblivion; the vacating all *offices* found for the king's title to lands since the year 1634, and an act of limitation for the security of estates; the establishment of inns of court; and seminaries of education in Ireland, for the benefit of Catholic subjects; a free and indifferent appointment of all natives of Ireland, without exception, to places of trust and honour; that no persons, not estated and usually resident in Ireland, should sit and vote in the parliament of this realm; that an act should pass, formally declaring the independency of the Irish parliament on that of England; that the jurisdiction of the Irish privy council should be limited to

matters of state; that no chief governor should be continued above three years, and that during his government *he should be disqualified to purchase or acquire any lands in Ireland;* that a parliamentary enquiry should be made into all murders, breaches of quarter, and barbarities committed on either side, and that offenders, in these respects, should be excluded from the act of oblivion, and brought to condign punishment."

These were the propositions which the Irish submitted to the king; and upon granting which, they promised to devote their *lives and fortunes* to his majesty's service, and to contribute immediately ten thousand men for suppressing the rebellion in England.

It will strike the reader of these propositions, submitted by the Irish to King Charles, in 1644, that they include the celebrated conditions obtained by Mr. Grattan, in 1782, in the most material points, as well as those relating to religious liberty, or disqualification on the ground of religion, which the Irish have ever since contended for.

They appear to have been drawn up with much wisdom and prudence. The provision which they make against the rapacity of chief governors deserves particular notice, as this was one of the chief sources of the calamities of Ireland. Every successive chief governor en-

deavouring, with all his might, to create an insurrection for the purpose of making a fortune by confiscation.

The king, with his usual indecision, neither accepted nor rejected the propositions. He referred them to Lord Ormond, with instructions to that nobleman to conclude a peace; and he satisfied himself with making a speech to the commissioners, in which he expressed his willingness to do justice to his Catholic subjects of Ireland, and leave them no reasonable ground of complaint, even though his present circumstances might not permit him openly to assent to such terms as they required; which, however, he intimated, might, in more favourable times, be fully confirmed: and he expressed his hope that they would rely upon his royal word, and not delay the succours that were now indispensable to his cause and to theirs; for if the royal cause were overborne in England, they would soon feel the consequences, in an entire overthrow of their power in Ireland.

It is an amusing instance of the prejudices of even a few years past, that Carte and Leland are quite scandalized at this speech of the king, and consider it as containing the most alarming concessions to popery. "Such," exclaims Leland, "were the declarations of a king who had repeatedly protested against tolerating popery!"

Ormond had no intention of making peace upon the terms proposed by the Irish; but he had no objection to amuse them with a negotiation. He rejected, however, very candidly and immediately, the article for the repeal of the penal laws, and made difficulties upon almost all the other articles. The obstacles thrown in the way by Ormond were reported to the king, and his majesty, from time to time, urged him to an accommodation, which the lord-lieutenant (for he was now lord-lieutenant) as repeatedly declined, though, in terms, he professed obedience to the king's commands.

There is no doubt that Ormond, at this period, cultivated an occasional and indirect intercourse with the rising party in England. He knew the feebleness of Charles, and expected his destruction, and he was resolved not to make a treaty which could not fail to subject him to the implacable hostility of the new and formidable power with which he might hereafter have to make conditions for himself. He avoided all collision and hostility with the parliamentarian officers, and positively refused to obey the king's command to declare them rebels.

While Ormond disobeyed the king's instructions, and amused the confederates with a show of negotiation, which he knew and intended should come to nothing, the king's affairs were

every day becoming more desperate. In this extremity Charles found it necessary to hasten his negotiation with the confederates, and Lord Glamorgan was dispatched into Ireland with instructions to conclude a peace; but his majesty had lost time and opportunity. As the king's affairs declined, the Catholics, wearied with the trifling of Ormond, and disgusted with the want of faith that had been observed towards them, rose in their demands, and the more resolute of their body, and especially the clergy, took advantage of the delay to obtain a decided superiority over the moderate party.

In the session of the convention which met in May, 1645, the clergy assumed a tone of authority which they had not before ventured to use, and their power was still further increased by the decisive battle of Naseby, which was fought during this session, and which destroyed almost the last hopes of Charles. Ormond now at length proposed to grant the repeal of the penal laws. This concession would have been, a short time before, gratefully accepted; but the offer had now lost all grace, and almost all value; for of what importance were the concessions of a king nearly deposed, and utterly without power?

The Earl of Glamorgan was a Roman Catholic, and a favourite with the king. He found the confederates now disposed to insist upon more

advantageous terms than they would lately have been content with; but his instructions were to make peace at all events, and he was able to prevail upon the Catholics to divide their negotiation into two separate treaties, one of which was to be public, and one private. The public treaty included the propositions submitted to the king at Oxford; the private treaty had reference to religious matters. The terms of the latter were stated by Glamorgan as too favourable to the Catholics to be published at the present moment without injury to the king's interest with the puritans; and the confederates had the weakness and good-nature to yield to such an argument. The secret treaty provided that a perfect equality should be enjoyed by both religions, the Catholic and Protestant; the Catholics to pay tithes and church dues to the Catholic clergy, and the Protestants to the pastors of their own church; and that both parties should continue to hold possession of such churches as might be in their custody and occupation at the time of the signature of the treaty.

While this negotiation was in progress, the pope's nuncio, Renuncini, arrived from Rome, as ambassador from his holiness. Renuncini raised a clamour against the treaty on two grounds; first, he did not think it made a sufficiently glorious and ample provision for the

dignity and splendour of the Catholic church; next, he objected to the religious treaty (in his opinion the most important) being secret. This was a reasonable objection; for there could be no doubt that the king's ministers would be fully prepared to deny and disown the secret treaty, whenever it might suit their convenience to do so.

Ormond was party to the public treaty; of the secret one he professed to have no knowledge. An incident soon occurred which showed the justice of the nuncio's objections against the secret negotiations, and placed all the parties to it in awkward positions.

A copy of the secret articles had accidentally fallen into the hands of the parliamentarians: they were printed and circulated, and the most violent outcry was raised against those awful and alarming concessions to popery, as they were deemed. The king, in this difficulty, condescended to a falsehood, and disowned the treaty. The lord-lieutenant, and Lord Digby, the king's minister then in Dublin, caused Glamorgan to be arrested, and affected to treat him as having abused the royal authority, and presumed unwarrantably to commit the king. Glamorgan made a defence very disgraceful to himself, and more dishonourable to his master than even his denial of the treaty. It appeared, that though he was furnished with full powers to grant the secret

articles, he was provided also with a *defeasance*, signed by his majesty, revoking and annulling the act. The whole proceeding was a tissue of the most disgusting fraud and falsehood that ever disgraced a throne, or shamed a private station.

At this distance of time it is amazing to consider the flame which the publication of this treaty kindled. The religious articles were in themselves exceedingly reasonable and fair; they gave the tithes to those who did religious duty; they gave the Churches to the congregations; they did not compel Protestants to pay tithes to Catholic priests, they merely permitted Catholics to pay the tithe to that body of men who discharged towards them the duties of pastors; and such is the astonishing power of prejudice, that this equitable and fair arrangement was considered the most enormous grievance: at that time nine tenths of the wealth as well as the population of Ireland was Catholic; there were few Protestants in any class of society, and those were only to be found in some of the towns and cities.

The arguments, whatever may be their weight, which have since been urged by the establishment in support of its claim to ecclesiastical property in Ireland, did not then apply.

Ormond now objected to the private treaty as inadmissible and disowned by the king; and

after much negotiation on both sides the confederates at length consented to waive this portion of the treaty, and to ratify the public articles, which contained the substance of the long-contested *graces*. The peace was concluded in July 1646.

It came too late to be of any service to the king, or of any value to the confederates. If Ormond had sooner consented to the terms now made, the king, perhaps, would have been saved: if the confederates, instead of wasting years in fruitless negotiations, had followed up their successes in the field, they would long since have been masters of the country, and might have dictated their own terms to king or parliament: but during the long period of the truce, their army had been neglected, and the defence of the kingdom but badly provided for. It was now too late to send troops into England; the royal cause was at an end, and the Irish army was by no means in a condition to meet the veteran forces of the commonwealth, accustomed to victory, and trained in a series of severe conflicts. Yet it was now certain that the confederates would speedily have to meet those formidable troops upon their own shores: the republicans talked loudly of sending a large army into Ireland.

While this threat hung over the confederates, the most alarming dissension and disorganisation prevailed in their body, and portended its total destruction. The nuncio Renuncini furiously

denounced the peace as a surrender of the Catholic interest; and having made a party amongst the clergy, he easily procured the mob to follow him. But Renuncini had even a more powerful ally than the mob.

He was supported by Owen O'Neil and the northern army. Not, that O'Neil was a more devoted servant of the church than the Anglo-Irish lords; he was in fact much less so; but he had been disgusted and offended at the proceedings of the convention of Kilkenny. He saw that their cause was hopeless, and if they should succeed, they had sufficiently proved how little it was their intention to promote the interest of the "mere Irish." They had been weak enough to betray their jealousy of that class of their countrymen, and to treat O'Neil himself with neglect and distrust; and in stipulating with the king, upon the peace, for places and honours for themselves, they had wholly forgotten the claims of this descendant of a long line of princes.

At another time, perhaps, the rank and pretensions of O'Neil might have been forgotten with impunity, though this family had not been used to suffer themselves to be easily neglected; but on the present occasion it was rather a perilous discourtesy towards the commander of twenty thousand men.

The nuncio, wielding with great vigour the arm of the church, and the more powerful arm

of O'Neil, soon obtained an ascendancy in Ireland which almost annihilated the power of the lords of the convention. He assumed the style and authority of a dictator; he summoned the bishops to attend him, and procured the concurrence of a considerable number of them to his measures. He excommunicated all those who observed the peace, and removed those who did not adopt his views, from their places and employments; appointed his own creatures to situations of trust and profit, and exercised, almost without control, the functions of absolute power.

The triumph and astonishing elevation of the nuncio, though the natural effect of an appeal to the passions of the crowd in disturbed times, and made more effectual at this period by the accidental concurrence of O'Neil in the views of the Italian, were felt by every sensible and reflecting person in Ireland, as the sure forerunner of that fate which had ever devoted the cause of the Catholics to defeat and ruin. The dissensions of the confederates were become incurable; for the violence of the nuncio had dissolved the very elements of unity.

Even now, if the confederates could have acted together, they might have been saved. They possessed a numerous army, though, from long inactivity ill trained, and shaken in its organisation by the dissensions which prevailed throughout the country. They were masters

of the whole kingdom, except some few posts held by the parliamentarians, and from which they could easily be dislodged. A vigorous effort, and a sincere reconcilement between O'Neil and the convention, would have re-established the Irish army upon a footing more than equal to contend with any force which the commonwealth could send into Ireland.

But their dissensions could not be appeased. Upon this the parliamentarians relied; upon this conviction Ormond acted, when, throughout his negotiations with the Catholics, he ventured to treat a whole nation in arms with superciliousness and contempt. "Let them alone," was his favourite observation; "my countrymen will be sure to ruin themselves." This was true; but it was also certain, that he had powerfully assisted them in the work of self-destruction.

O'Neil knew that Ormond, despairing of the king's affairs, and despising the confederates, had been looking towards the parliamentarians with a view of making terms with that party, likely soon to become the prevailing one in Ireland, as in the other island. The northern general agreed in opinion with the marquess: like him he despised the confederates of Kilkenny, and was persuaded, from the vigour and ability with which the affairs of the commonwealth were conducted, that the new power

must prevail. He saw, that if he must make terms with any party, for himself, or for his country, the parliament was that party. The treaty with the king was a nullity; the parliament disowned it; and Ormond himself considered it only as an expedient to meet a temporary emergency.

But to treat with effect with the new government in England, it was necessary to force them into respect for their opponent. To put himself, therefore, into a position for treating with the republic on an equal footing, O'Neil recommenced active operations.

The Scottish general Munroe commanded the troops of the covenant in the north. Munroe had been about four years in Ireland, during which time his operations were not very brilliant. They were chiefly confined to the *lifting* of cattle, without much regard to the creed or party of the owners, across the narrow strait that divides this part of Ireland from Scotland. Occasionally, however, he employed himself in other matters: he put sixty men, and eighteen *women rebels* to death, at Newry. After this exploit he invited himself to dine with the Earl of Antrim, and being hospitably received and entertained, he introduced his guards into the house during dinner, and made the earl and all his household prisoners for the crime (the only one alleged) of popery.

Though not unwilling to carry on a campaign against the popery of the Earl of Antrim in his own house, he was very reluctant to confront in the field the theological errors of Owen O'Neil; and some small experiments which he made in that way rather increased his disinclination to any interference of the kind.

Munroe was followed by his countryman Count Lieven, who landed in the north with about eight thousand men, which made the parliamentarian force in that quarter little short of twenty thousand. With this force some considerable operations were expected; but the count confined himself merely to writing a letter to O'Neil, in which he expressed his surprise and regret "that a commander of such high reputation should come to Ireland and engage in so bad a cause." O'Neil replied, "that he had better reason for coming to the relief of his country, than His Lordship could allege for marching against his King." Satisfied with this correspondence, Lieven withdrew from Ireland, leaving Munroe in command of the army, and assuring him on parting, that O'Neil would very soon give him a "sound drubbing."

This prophetic warning was realized at Benburb, where Munroe having ventured to engage with O'Neil was defeated with great loss, the force on both sides in this affair was not large, but Munroe had considerably the

advantage. O'Neil counted about five thousand five hundred men, Munro about seven thousand, more than three thousand of the British fell on the field of battle, and all the arms, baggage, artillery, and treasure of the army fell into the hands of the victors, whose loss did not exceed a hundred men.

The nuncio was now busily engaged denouncing the peace, and excommunicating all who adhered to it. Proclamation of peace had been made in Dublin, and some attempts were made at a similar formality in Limerick, Waterford, and Clonmel, and other towns within the Irish quarters; but they were evaded or opposed in all those places at the instance and under the direction of the nuncio. At his instance a new oath of association was adopted, in which it was declared, "that no peace ought to be consented to that was not approved by the congregation of the Irish clergy."

Ormond and O'Neil were both now convinced that the time was arrived for decisive measures; the former had wasted much time in insincere negotiation, the latter had carried his system of caution to a degree of inaction, which had suffered many important opportunities to pass unimproved. Ormond resolved to conclude by treating with the predominant party in England, and made his approaches boldly to the parliamentarians. O'Neil determined to bring the fatal dissensions of the confederates to an end, by

seizing upon the supreme power, and concentrating all authority in his own person.

The party of the nuncio were perishing under the effect of their own violence. The influence of the church is sometimes a support, but always a bad foundation for political power.

Ormond's negotiation with the parliamentarians was carried on in a different spirit from his feigned treaties with the confederates, and was speedily concluded. He stipulated for a sum of thirteen thousand pounds to be paid to himself immediately, on pretence of having laid out an equal amount of his private property in the service of the state; and for a pension of three thousand a year to be paid to Lady Ormond, upon what pretence is not stated; and for liberty to reside in England on submitting, and conforming to the authority of parliament. All these stipulations, and the latter especially is conclusive proof that Ormond had finally resolved to abandon the cause of his unhappy master.

Having arranged the whole affair to his satisfaction, the troops and the commissioners of parliament were admitted into Dublin; and Ormond, who had still some little matters of etiquette to arrange, was shocked to discover, that the rude republicans were little disposed to consult the dignity of the person they had purchased. He hastened his preparations accordingly, and embarked for England; but he had no

sooner arrived in that country than a warrant was issued for his arrest; and he escaped only by a precipitate flight to France. Thus were the plans which he had laid for embarking his fortunes on the rising tide of the commonwealth overturned by that spirit of good fortune which guided the footsteps of this nobleman throughout his long career.

O'Neil addressed himself to the parliamentarian commanders in the north, about the time that Ormond had completed his negotiation. The Irish general was also successful. He obtained a supply of money and ammunition, and was permitted, without opposition, to pass through the parliamentary forces, and march southward, in order to effect his great object of suppressing the convention of Kilkenny, and uniting, if it were possible, the whole Catholic body under one authority, before they were called on to sustain the shock of the threatened invasion from England.

But O'Neil's genius did not lie in a *coup de main*. For such an enterprise, he was far too prudent and circumspect. While he weighed and calculated his plans, the convention became alarmed. They hastily negotiated a truce with Inshiquin, who, thinking himself not sufficiently rewarded for his treason, had just deserted the parliament, and declared for the King, and was now advanced by forced marches to Kilkenny, at

the head of about six thousand veteran soldiers. Inshiquin having effected a junction with Preston, commanding the Leinster forces of the confederates; O'Neil's enterprise was no longer practicable, and all his skill was now required to avoid being forced into an engagement, under circumstances of great disadvantage, and against greatly superior numbers. With consummate skill he baffled the enemy, and effected his retreat, without other loss than some desertions, to the Leinster army.

The failure of this attempt plunged the affairs of the confederates in still deeper ruin. They were not only now divided, but at war. The council of Kilkenny published a manifesto against O'Neil, declaring him a traitor. The violence and folly of the nuncio, which had been so destructive to the council of Kilkenny, had been injurious even to the party he espoused. O'Neil had not escaped from its withering influence: the blight of the nuncio's furious fanaticism was upon his cause. And though the general used the priest merely as an instrument, he learned what the whole experience of history teaches, that there is no worse instrument in politics than blind fanaticism, because none less capable of control.

O'Neil having regained his northern quarters, opened anew his negotiations with the officers of the parliament.

CHAP. XVI.

THE CROMWELLIAN WAR.

Ormond was soon impatient of a life of repose and obscurity in France, and was easily prevailed upon to return to Ireland with the rank of lord lieutenant. He was received at Kilkenny by the Anglo-Irish party of the confederates with extravagant demonstrations of joy. In their confidence and exultation, they indulged themselves without limit in their hostility against O'Neil, and renewed their proclamation declaring him a rebel and traitor.

But Ormond was now an altered man, and trembled at that dissension which lately he would have rejoiced at. He sought to appease the virulence of the Kilkenny party against the northern general, and made sincere and anxious efforts to conciliate that commander. He found O'Neil, who, like himself, was sensible of the alarming condition of the country, ready and willing to make reasonable terms. But the perverseness of the Kilkenny party was not to be subdued. On the brink of the precipice which yawned under their feet, they could attend to nothing but their animosities; and they soon fell headlong into the gulph.

Ormond was at length sincere. The rough reception which his treasons and intrigues had met with from the republicans had cured him of that treachery. When he ought not to have been trusted, the confederates reposed unlimited confidence in him; but now that there was no doubt of his good faith, they could not be induced to place any reliance upon him. They limited his authority by the appointment of what were called COMMISSIONERS OF TRUST, whose assent was made necessary to all his measures. Thus fettered, Ormond could do nothing. He possessed but the shadow of power. But the urgency of the case made him continue to use every effort to bring about an accommodation with O'Neil.

The northern general had speedily repaired the injury his army had sustained by desertion, and it was now in a very effective condition. The Leinster or confederate army had, however, been almost destroyed by a series of defeats sustained by the incapacity of Preston in his encounters with the parliamentarians; and this calamity was aggravated by the disaster which befel Ormond before Dublin; where he met a signal overthrow from Jones the parliamentarian general. Alarmed by the preparations of Cromwell for the Irish war, he had made a weak effort to get possession of the city, but suffered an inglorious defeat at Rathmines. Immediately

after this favourable omen, Cromwell landed with about ten thousand men at Dublin.

Cromwell arrived in Ireland with the title of lord lieutenant. He spent a short time in Dublin, making dispositions and arrangements in his new government. When these affairs were despatched he put his army in march, and his first movement was upon Drogheda. Ormond had anticipated that the siege of this town would be Cromwell's first enterprize; and he had provided for its defence with great care.

The governor, Sir Arthur Aston, was a Catholic, and a man of great judgment and undaunted courage. The garrison consisted of about two thousand five hundred men, picked troops. But Cromwell had come provided with a train of artillery which the walls of Drogheda were unable to resist. He kept up an incessant fire upon the town till a breach was made, and then ordered an assault, which was sustained with the whole power of his army, and led by the flower of his troops. Two such assaults were driven back and defeated by the garrison. The third was led by Cromwell himself, and succeeded only by weight of numbers and prodigious efforts of valor on the part of the assailants. The garrison continued the combat in the streets, disputing every inch of ground, till all were destroyed, except a remnant, who submitted upon terms. But Cromwell was no

sooner master of the town, than, alarmed at the opposition he had encountered, he ordered his prisoners to be put to the sword. About thirty only were saved; and these were sent to the Island of Barbadoes and sold as slaves; so that of the brave garrison of Drogheda hardly a man escaped.

From Drogheda Cromwell marched southward; took Wexford on his way, and put the garrison of that town also to the sword. It does not appear that those repeated crimes and inhumanities had any effect in opening the kingdom, as is commonly supposed, to the protector. The determined resistance he encountered at Clonmel, Kilkenny, and other places, proved to him that he had not succeeded in creating terror, and that he had shed this deluge of blood in vain.

The fate of the war depended upon his making an *impression* quickly, and before he came to measure swords with Owen O'Neil; and as yet he had made little. Cromwell relied upon the dissensions which he knew to prevail between O'Neil and the confederates of Kilkenny. He had also tried the effect of negotiation with that general. He was an able and straight forward negotiator; and like most *conquerors* won as much by intrigue as the sword. But he failed with O'Neil as he had done in his plan of terrifying the Irish garrisons. If the northern general had ever looked to more than temporary convenience in his negotiations with

Cromwell's generals, the massacre at Drogheda and Wexford decided him against any accommodation. He sent for his officers, acquainted them with what had occurred, and stated his resolution to pardon the confederates their ill usage and hostility towards him, and his determination to march immediately to the south and undertake the war against Cromwell in person.

O'Neil was himself bound by the terms of his truce with the parliamentarian generals of the north, and could not for several days undertake the expedition; but he sent his Lieutenant General O'Farrel immediately at the head of from three to four thousand men, as an advanced guard. His instructions to his lieutenant were "to avoid an engagement without a certain prospect of success," and to rely upon the "passes and the season." "These," said O'Neil, "will defeat Cromwell without risk."

O'Neil had had various negotiations with Cromwell and his officers in the north, and had contrived to supply himself with money, arms, and ammunition, by making them pay for a cessation of arms. He had also occasionally tried what terms he could make for himself or for the country with this powerful party; but there is reason to believe that he found them undeserving of any trust or reliance. Even Cromwell himself was not powerful enough to grant the terms he wished to a Roman Catholic,

or secure their observance. His great object therefore was to amuse O'Neil by negotiation, and in the mean time to push the war with vigor.

Cromwell's invasion would have been an advantage to the confederates, if O'Neil had lived, as it cured their dissensions for a while, and would have thrown the whole conduct of the war, and therefore the whole power of the country, into the hands of that commander. From the opposition which the protector encountered, from the inert and undirected resistance of the people, and the imminent danger and losses that he met with, we are warranted in thinking, that if the war had been directed by O'Neil, he would have been defeated or compelled to make terms.

O'Farrel reached Kilkenny with the advanced guard of O'Neil's army on the 28th of October; and the Ulster general himself was following at the head of the main body. But on his march he was seized with a defluxion of the knees, a disease reported to have been produced by poison. He ordered himself to be carried in a litter, that the march of the army should not be retarded, or the soldiers discouraged by his absence. But the motion is said to have exasperated the complaint, and he died at Clough-Oughter Castle on the 6th of November 1649, and was buried in the abbey at Cavan.

The death of the Ulster general, at the critical moment it occurred, (which perhaps was the

only ground for the imputation of poison) was a remarkable event, and decisive of the fate of the Cromwellian war. It accomplished for Cromwell what his massacres could not effect, and laid the kingdom at his feet.

O'Neil well deserves to be ranked amongst the few Irishmen whom the calamities of their country have permitted to be illustrious. He was undoubtedly one of the great men of Ireland. His reputation as a commander was of the highest order, His moral character was without a stain. He cannot be charged with an error of any magnitude in his military operations, nor with a crime or a cruelty in the exercise of power. He created his own army, and maintained it for eight years without supplies, stores, money, or any visible means but what he drew from his own quarters in Ulster. The confidence of his soldiers in their general was unbounded. During the whole period of his command they exhibited but one instance of disobedience; which arose out of the disgust the army had conceived towards the confederates of Kilkenny for their ill treatment of their general. When ordered to march to the relief of the supreme council after Preston's defeat at Dangan Hill, the whole army refused to move. O'Neil tried persuasion; but did not succeed. The mutineers were drawn up in order of battle: the general went to his own regiment, and his brigade of artillery,

and asked, Would they follow him? The soldiers replied by a cheer; he then advanced at the head of these troops towards the mutineers, and having made his dispositions for attack, and pointed his cannon, the steadiness and determination of his conduct produced their effect, and the army submitted.

But O'Neil's genius as a commander, though admirably fitted to defend his country from a foreign enemy, was hardly calculated for the part he had to act in the internal broils of the state. The only chance there was of safety for the cause he was engaged in, was by putting down the rival faction of the confederates of Kilkenny, and for this he does not appear to have possessed sufficient boldness and decision. He had a horror of shedding blood, except in the field of battle; and a good faith which almost shut him out from the grand and desperate career of a revolutionary chief. Kingdoms may be preserved by virtues, but are rarely won except by crimes.

In his negotiations, whether with Ormond or Cromwell, it is true, that he always stipulated for property and title for himself; but he had a just claim upon both as head of the chief branch of the O'Neil family.

On the death of O'Neil, nothing remained for the confederates but to submit; and make the

best terms they could with Cromwell. Why they did not do so, can only be accounted for by the fatuity which seems to have kept them steadily in the path of ruin.

The case of the confederates of Kilkenny, in their opposition to the parliamentarians, had several points of remarkable coincidence with the conduct pursued by the original Irish in reference to the old British invaders. The confederates were, at any time, more than competent to expel or destroy the small corps of parliamentarian troops that lingered in the country; but fully occupied with their own dissensions and disputes, they neglected to do so; and they were ultimately subdued and destroyed in detail, by a force which they might have so easily crushed.

Again, the same game, in every particular, was played against them which their ancestors had used against the Irish. They were driven into an appearance of rebellion, while anxiously striving to avoid it; and by a similar system of management, irritation, and falsehood. The ancestors of many of those nobles had been, like Parsons and Borlase, lords deputies of Ireland, and had acquired their possessions by such arts as were now practised against their descendants.

Cromwell's army in Ireland was composed of the most furious and fanatical portion of the revolutionary soldiery. They were selected for

this expedition with a view to get rid of them. Cromwell had begun at this period to entertain those ambitious views which his great success naturally inspired, and which coming upon him suddenly, and in all their power, speedily overcame the original sternness and moderation of his character. Having ceased to be a fanatic, it was necessary for him to rid himself as quickly as possible of the fanatical portion of his army. The Irish war presented the means.

When the regiments intended for the expedition assembled at Bristol, they saw instantly in the character of the sōldiery, what was intended; — they were all "levellers;" a name they derived from their hostility to authority of almost any kind. In religion they were chiefly anabaptists and independents, but included portions of the vast variety of sects which then prevailed in England. Their religious and political prejudices were highly inflamed by the struggles they had undergone, and the success they had conquered. They were drunk with the blood of their countrymen; for nothing intoxicates like blood, or produces more horrible frenzy.

When these haggard and toil-worn battalions, found themselves assembled at Bristol, and had time to reflect on the object of such a selection as they perceived their general had made, they demurred without hesitation to the order of em-

barkation. The choice of such regiments confirmed them in the suspicions they had long entertained of Cromwell's intentions against their darling republic, their holy, though earthly Sion, of which they were saints and the chosen priesthood. They hated Ireland; the very name was odious and horrible to them, and presented only ideas of "a howling wilderness," a den of popery, and abounding with all profaneness and abomination.

The levellers refused to embark. It required Cromwell's presence, and the command which he exercised over these intractable spirits, to overcome their reluctance, and bend their stubborn wills. Cromwell appeared suddenly amongst them, and they obeyed; but they looked upon themselves as devoted men; a holocaust laid upon the altar; which was indeed to purchase the purification of Ireland from the uncleanness of popery; a great and glorious work, but hardly worthy of so great a sacrifice.

Thus was laid the foundation of the Cromwellian interest in Ireland: an interest still subsisting in great vigor in that country. It is worthy of observation, that this fanatical soldiery, which crossed the sea to the Irish expedition with such reluctance and almost despair, attained in Ireland to a degree of eminence and fortune which the voluntary and eager adventurers of former reigns seldom arrived at; and escaped

the severe visitation of penury and disgrace, which, upon the Restoration, fell so heavily upon the British portion of the revolutionary army.

The officers, subalterns, and great numbers of the privates of this army, came into possession of large estates in Ireland, and laid the foundation of families now of considerable wealth and consequence in that kingdom; while their associates in arms on the British side of the Channel fell suddenly into poverty, and became objects of scorn and derision, in a country they had so lately governed.

The arm of a special Providence seems to have gone before the "Levellers," and prepared their dominion in Ireland, which was to be established on the ruin of most of those British-descended families, whose fathers, since the days of Henry II., had toiled to acquire property in that country.

Cromwell's operations in Ireland were confined to the attack of a few towns, which were, for that period, well fortified and provided. The confederates had not been inattentive to that important branch of their duty, the strengthening of their fortresses. The defence made by those towns was very honourable to the Irish military. Kilkenny was defended by one of the Butler family, at the head of a few soldiers, not exceeding four or five hundred men. This small garrison, as well as the citi-

zens of the town, were suffering during the siege from the attacks of an enemy within their walls more formidable than the foe without. The plague was desolating the city. With a wasted population, and a small and sickly garrison, Sir Walter Butler repelled Cromwell's repeated attacks; and the Protector was retiring in disgrace, when some of the corporate authorities offered to treat. The city was surrendered upon the most honourable terms; and Cromwell complimented the garrison upon their brave defence. He had found that his system of massacre had not succeeded.

The defence of Clonmel was still more obstinate. The garrison was composed of a small corps of about fifteen hundred of that army which Owen O'Neil had formed with so much care; and was commanded by Henry O'Neil, a near relative of that general. Henry O'Neil proved, by his defence of Clonmel, and afterwards of Limerick, that he was not unequal to the name he bore. In the first assault Cromwell lost two thousand of his best troops. But impatient to finish the Irish war he continued his attacks, and during two months every assault he made was repulsed and defeated with great slaughter.

But the provisions and ammunition of the garrison were at length exhausted. Ormond pressed the Lord Roche to raise some troops, and hasten

to the relief of the town; and the Catholic Bishop of Ross, a determined and able enemy of the Cromwellian power in Ireland, used his influence with so much effect to raise and arm the men, that they were soon in a condition to march. On the other hand, Cromwell, tired, and his army almost destroyed by the siege, earnestly besought Lord Broghil to hasten to his assistance. In his march to Clonmel, Broghil encountered Lord Roche's division of raw levies, and easily put them to the route, and took the Bishop of Ross prisoner. There was a small fort in the possession of the Irish, near the spot where this encounter took place: Broghil erected a gallows upon the field, and having showed the Bishop the preparations made for his execution, he commanded him to go to the fort and use his influence with the garrison to procure its surrender. If it should be immediately surrendered, his life was to be spared, and he was to be set at liberty; if not, certain death awaited him. He compelled the Bishop to take an oath that he would return, and then suffered him to proceed to the fort.

The Bishop went to the fort, and having collected the garrison about him, set before them in strong and glowing language the duty they owed to God and their country to defend the fortress committed to their charge to the last extremity; and never to cease from their hos-

tility to the enemies of Ireland. Having thus excited the enthusiasm of the garrison, the Bishop returned quietly to the English camp, and submitted to the executioner. He was hanged.

This incident displays the spirit that actuated both parties: — The fierce and barbarous inhumanity of the parliamentarians, restrained by no rule, and respecting no obligation; pouring out the blood of their prisoners, and of the quiet and peaceable inhabitants of the country, as water, with utter contempt of the ordinary laws of war, or the common rights of humanity. On the other side we find an opposition without direction or combination; a war carried on without plan or head to guide it, yet exhibiting powers and resources, and above all, a spirit in the people capable of the highest and greatest achievements. They wanted but a presiding spirit to drive Cromwell and his levellers out of the country; but that spirit was not to be found.

Ormond was at the head of the confederates. But no party had confidence in him: nor was he a man of sufficient elevation of character for the task. He was a prudent man; not a great one. A man of extraordinary discretion, never attempting any thing beyond his powers, and cautious of incurring any great risks. Though he urged the miserable levies collected hastily about Clonmel to the relief of that town, he avoided committing *himself* in any conflict with

Cromwell. When that general crossed the Barrow, and on two or three other occasions, Ormond was presented with opportunities of attacking him with great advantage, and Owen O'Neil's troops, whom he commanded, clamoured for battle; but nothing could induce the marquis to risk his fortune against the Protector.

Acting on the same principle, he never once attempted to grapple with O'Neil during all the time he was opposed to that general. Ormond chose his antagonists wisely. He did not object to meet Preston and some other generals of the confederation, whose talents in the field he regarded as even inferior to his own.

Lord Ormond is a proof of the truth of the Latin adage, which places discretion above all other gifts of nature, and far above those more shining endowments that the world admires. With this homely instrument, he reaped a share of solid wealth, and substantial power in Ireland, which has been seldom gathered by the glittering sickle of a superior intellect.

The defeat and death of the Bishop of Ross put an end to the hopes of the garrison of Clonmel. Cromwell offered the most honourable terms, and the town was surrendered. O'Neil, refusing to be a party to the capitulation, had previously withdrawn with his corps from the town.

CHAP. XVII.

After the surrender of Clonmel, Cromwell hastened to return to England. He had done little in Ireland, more than reduce a few towns. He had fought no battle, nor did he court a conflict in the field. His authority, when he withdrew, was limited to the ground occupied by his soldiers. After his departure, Ludlow and Ireton, to whom he committed the conduct of the war, remained almost inactive. Nor was activity necessary. They merely looked on, and waited the dissolution of the confederacy which was now rapidly taking place under the influence of the incurable dissensions of the Irish.

Ormond was still at the head of a few troops; but was utterly without power. Distrusted by the Catholics, and despised by the parliamentarians, he found it necessary, in a short time, to preserve his dignity by a second retreat to France.

The army which had served under Owen O'Neil had nearly disbanded itself; from disgust with the incapacity of Ormond; and the dissensions of the convention of Kilkenny.

The old Irish of the confederacy, hopeless now of achieving any thing for their country, and weary of the eternal and absurd negotiations of the convention lords, entered into terms with the Cromwellians. Many laid down their arms and submitted; but far the greater number made conditions to be sent at the cost of the parliament to France or Spain, and were furnished with stores and shipping for that purpose. The military were gladly received into the service of those two powers; and in the course of three years about forty thousand men, chiefly of the Irish army, left their country in this manner, and were conveyed abroad at the cost of the new government of England. The whole number, however, of Irish who quitted their country in the course of the Cromwellian wars is estimated at about two hundred thousand. A dispersion which formed a remarkable event of the time; and which is still to be traced in France, Spain, and various other parts of Europe.

The Ormond party was extinct. The party of the convention was in a state of utter decay. Their own army, which was of necessity composed of *mere* Irish, followed the example of the northern battalions, and disbanded or retired by regiments into foreign service.

The Cromwellians found themselves in quiet possession of the kingdom almost without firing a shot, and to their own great amazement.

They proceeded without a moment's delay to appropriate to themselves the great estates of the lords and gentlemen of the confederation.

Those devoted persons who had clamoured against their old Irish associates for having insisted upon a vigorous prosecution of the war, when it could have been successfully conducted, now renewed their cry against them for submitting to a power which could no longer be resisted. They had refused to carry on the war on the only plan which promised the least chance of success, and they now blamed the Irish for adopting the only course which promised the least hope of safety.

The Irish clergy, though led into great extravagance by the folly and presumption of the nuncio, had soon discovered how little he was to be relied upon, and had shaken off his authority. They had laboured from the beginning to accomplish a cordial union between the two great parties into which the Catholics were divided, and they had not succeeded. They had urged the necessity of appointing a commander in chief with full powers, instead of a number of local and provincial generals, all acting upon different plans, without concert or system. But this advice was thought to point to O'Neil, and would not be listened to. They represented that it was in vain to deal with the King, who was not a free agent, and who might at a future time,

upon a plea of the coercion of his necessities, refuse to confirm what he might then concede. They represented that their own safety, the security of their country, and even the safety of the King required, that, without looking to the right or left, they should exert the abundant means they possessed of acquiring the sovereign power in Ireland; and they pointed out the danger they otherwise incurred, of being treated both as rebels to the crown and enemies to the commonwealth.

These representations and remonstrances were unavailing. It is only justice to the Catholic clergy to say, notwithstanding the violence into which they were frequently betrayed by their excess of zeal, and the injury which their indiscretion did their own cause, that they appear to have been uniformly actuated more by a love of country, than any bigoted attachment to the see of Rome.

As the confederacy dissolved, the clergy became loud in their exclamations against the folly of the lords of Kilkenny, and violent in their measures. They saw that the country was ruined, and that they were themselves devoted to destruction. The nobles of Kilkenny exclaimed in their turn against the excesses and disloyalty of the clergy. The parliamentarians stood by at the head of their little paltry corps, and day after day the great fortresses of the

kingdom fell without an effort into their hands; and armies of ten times their numbers dispersed without a blow before them.

The fortune of the parliamentarians in Ireland is one of the most extraordinary occurrences in history. But they used it with little moderation. Ireton sat down with a small corps before the impregnable fortress of Limerick. He had no means of making any impression upon the town, which was defended by a large garrison, commanded by Henry O'Neil, the brave and able officer whose defence of Clonmel had baffled every effort of Cromwell, and nearly ruined his army. But the town was a scene of the most violent contentions between the Irish and the Ormond party, as the loyalists of Kilkenny were called. The fury of these contending parties raged so violently, that the governor lost all control over the garrison; a general confusion and disorganisation took place; and some of the rioters, having got possession of one of the gates, let in the enemy.

Ireton hanged a number of the principal citizens and clergy. He brought the governor to trial by court-martial, and had him condemned to death for the strange crime of having done his duty bravely. O'Neil calmly stated, that he had come from the Continent at the invitation of his countrymen to take a command in the Irish army; and that he had done his

duty, and no more. He was saved, with difficulty, by the interposition of Ireton's officers, who had the grace to be ashamed of the proceeding. The ground upon which Ireton professed to bring O'Neil to trial was curious, and shows the notions entertained by those champions of liberty in their own case. O'Neil was told that the PEOPLE of England possessed absolute dominion, *and right of conquest*, over Ireland; and as he was taken in arms against the British authority, then vested in the parliament, he was guilty of rebellion, and deserved death.

The confederates in their despair now sent ambassadors all over Europe to tender the crown of Ireland to any one who would deign to accept of it. It was offered to Spain, to France, to the Pope, and the Duke of Lorrain. The Pope rejected it with an expression of contempt for those whose love of slavery sent them about the world to beg a master. The Duke of Lorrain entered into a foolish negotiation by which he lost twenty thousand pounds, which he advanced upon a mortgage of Limerick and Galway, a security of about as much value as a mortgage on the moon. France and Spain declined the eleemosynary diadem. The confederates at this period resembled the ancient Britons when they besought the assistance of Rome, complaining that the Saxons drove into the sea, and the sea upon the Saxons. Little

pity was excited for the condition of men who were known to have obstinately counteracted every effort made to save them, and stupidly misemployed the most abundant means for their own protection.

The Irish war was now concluded. Cromwell sent over his son Henry to superintend a settlement of the kingdom. This was soon effected in Cromwell's usual style of decision and dispatch. Connaught was set apart for the Irish who had not made terms. Ulster was already disposed of to the London companies and the Scotch: these were to remain undisturbed. The other two provinces were allotted almost entirely to the Cromwellian soldiers and adventurers, in satisfaction of their arrears of pay and advances towards the expenses of the war. In this partition of the land, which was as complete as that of Canaan to the children of Israel, the Anglo-Irish nobility and gentry were the chief sufferers.

CHAP XVIII.

THE CROMWELLIAN SETTLEMENT.

THE Cromwellians thus established in Ireland were a bold and hardy race of men; and superior, perhaps, to any of the swarms which had passed the channel from time to time, and settled on the rich lands of Ireland. They were not like the crafty land-jobbers, who came over constantly to traffic in forfeited estates, many of whom laid the foundations of wealthy families; neither did they belong to the class of needy and dissolute adventurers whose object was to rebuild a fortune, which vice and depravity had destroyed; nor were they of the low and unprincipled stock of official and military speculators in confiscations, whose determination was to make a fortune, no matter how.

The Cromwellian soldiers came to Ireland unwillingly. They were for the most part men who had engaged from principle in the cause of the parliament; or, as they believed, the cause of civil and religious liberty. They were enthusiasts, with somewhat of the dignity of en-

thusiasm about them. They had not deprived, by personal management or contrivance, any man of his estate in Ireland. The lands were vacant. The events of the war had swept away the late possessors; and the Protector, assuming a right over those lands, assigned them to his soldiers in lieu of pay.

The conduct of the Cromwellian army and of their great leader, in Ireland, is abundant proof that there is no tyranny like the tyranny of republicans. All the despotism of corrupt courts, unprincipled monarchs, and profligate courtiers, had been exhausted upon Ireland; and all which these instruments could accomplish in a course of ages fell infinitely short of what was effected in as many years by the army of the commonwealth. Nothing in history is more dreadful than the slaughter committed by the Cromwellians when the country fell into their power. They spared neither age, nor sex, nor infancy. But there is little doubt that these gloomy fanatics imagined they would have sinned in sparing. When they became weary of slaughter, they transported the people in thousands to the West Indies, and to all parts of the Continent; and it is probable that, like the Jews when they spared a remnant of the people of Canaan, they considered this lenity to popery as an offence that would be visited upon their chil-

dren. Like all fanatics, they were more conversant with the horrors of the Old Testament than the mild precepts of the New.

The Cromwellians did not regard Ireland as a part, but as a dependency of the British empire; and upon this ground, also, they thought themselves entitled to grind the country to the dust. They viewed it as a *conquest*, and as having, therefore, no rights. The few peasantry, whom they permitted to remain in the country to till the ground for them were reduced to a state of slavery. They were forbid to leave their parishes, or to assemble for purposes of public worship, or any other purposes. The clergy were commanded to quit the island on pain of death; and the few that ventured to remain continued to exercise their ministry in the woods, and in caverns, and in inaccessible cliffs of the mountains; and even there they were exposed to be discovered by blood-hounds which the new proprietors had introduced and trained to priest-hunting.

The Cromwellians were no sooner established in quiet possession of their new properties than they began to set up a miscellaneous assortment of petty conventicles in all parts of Ireland, upon the models of the innumerable sects which diversified the religious surface of England at that day. Some of those continued to exist about "sixty years since;" and were to be seen in the

villages and country places, forming a strange contrast with the habits and customs of the surrounding population. Many of the Cromwellian soldiers became quakers after the war. The excitement of a high mysticism was necessary to those men, now that the excitement of war was at an end; and as they had revelled in blood to an excess which ordinary wars seldom admit of, they were the more ready to seize upon the strongest contrast which the varieties of religious opinion offered. But time, and the effect of wealth, and the genial influence of the climate, made way for gayer impressions of human affairs, and finally destroyed all those little congregations. The anabaptists, the independents, the quakers, all gave way before the seductions of prosperity, the balmy atmosphere of Ireland, and the merry character of the population; and were absorbed in the two great establishments of the country — the poorer classes of dissenters in the catholic, and the richer in the episcopal church.

The Cromwellian wars had left the country a desert. Famine and the sword had done their work of desolation. The lands had changed proprietors; but there were no cultivators. There were soldiers, adventurers, undertakers, all sorts of claimants and pretenders to the soil; but there were no peasantry. Nor could this class of men be procured from Scotland, England,

or any where;* and without them the lands were of no value. In the north, only, a Scoto-Irish population had grown up to some extent; but this had been the slow result not of the *plantation* but of long intercourse with the coast of Scotland. Cromwell was compelled to relax his decree for the transportation of the Irish across the Shannon and beyond sea; and in a few years the ineradicable weed of the indigenous population spread itself over the soil as before, and concealed the scattered transplants from England.

The middle districts of Ireland received in the changes of the Cromwellian wars the first impressions of that character which they have since so frequently exhibited. From the blood that had been shed, sprung up a fierce race of men; beautiful in person, capable of enduring extraordinary fatigue and privation, of gigantic strength and stature, passionate, vindictive, cruel, easily roused to anger, determined in purpose, delighting to shed blood, even their own, and scorning alike the judicial and military execution.

In a country almost vacant the applotments of land amongst the soldiers were easily arranged. Many of the privates, however, were religious men; and had scruples about receiving the property of others from hands that had no title but force. Several of this class sold for nominal or trivial considerations to the

original proprietors. Some, who did not like the country, or wished to return to their own, generously presented their portions to the Irish owners, and refused any recompense. Numbers of the privates sold their shares to their officers; and there are rolls of troops and companies extant with the signatures of the soldiers conveying their portions for small, or for no consideration, to their captains.

The Cromwellian army of Ireland was now a considerable body, and in possession of a large share of political power. That of England was still a mere soldiery. Property had its influence upon the Irish army; and though originally the most suspicious, and the most adverse, from the designs of their general, their hostility at this time was considerably subdued. They felt that though Cromwell might be dangerous to the liberties of England, he was necessary to the security of their new possessions. They did not quarrel therefore with the style and title of majesty which he assumed in Ireland long before he ventured to make any demonstrations of the kind in the other island. Writs, decrees, and all the proceedings of the government and of the courts of law ran in the name of HIS MAJESTY the Lord Protector, and in the year of his REIGN. But His Majesty the Protector was the most despotic of sovereigns.

The trial by jury was set aside, and every sem-

blance of justice was abolished. Various courts, unknown to the law and the constitution, were established in different parts of the country, before which men were brought to trial, without any forms of justice, or any rules of evidence being observed. The judges in those courts were Cromwellian soldiers, or the most profligate adventurers of the war, who having covered themselves with crimes, were rewarded by their master with Irish appointments, and who seemed to imagine that the sole duty of their new vocation was to condemn and execute all who came before them. There was no escape for any one arraigned before those new courts.

In England Cromwell did not dare corrupt the superior courts of justice. In Ireland he did not hesitate to appoint his basest minions to the highest places on the bench. All honest men resigned their situations, and the courts of law became dens of thieves. Cromwell had the grace to offer the chief-justiceship to Judge Donegan, a man of high reputation for learning and integrity, but he declined to preside on a bench so polluted, and preferred retiring to an honourable poverty.

The courts of the lords presidents, and the courts for the trial of *rebels* and *malignants*, were in full activity during this period. The former courts had been established in the four provinces in the reign of Elizabeth, if not earlier. The

lords presidents presided in person, and heard all causes, and decided them of their own will and judgment without appeal. They were such courts as those of the Cadi in Turkey, and other parts of the East; and it is probable that they were sometimes very useful and well administered, as the eastern courts are known frequently to be.

It is curious that the lords presidents' courts still continue to exist in Ireland, though now under the authority of judges of the legal profession, who observe the rules of law in their *decrees*, as they are called. The assistant barrister's court is directly derived from that of the lord president.

Cromwell's plan for the settlement of Ireland consisted of a legislative union of the three nations, incorporated now into one great republic. By an order, called an INSTRUMENT OF GOVERNMENT, he directed that thirty Irish members should be elected to represent Ireland in the united parliament. His plan of representation seems to have been very crude and defective: but it was worthy of his bold and commanding intellect to furnish the first outline of the only scheme, consistent with the connection with Great Britain, which could supply a remedy for the enormous abuses then prevailing in Ireland. The Restoration put an end to his plan of union; which, if it had been adopted by Charles II.,

would probably have prevented the two years' war of the Revolution.

But Cromwell's plans of improvement were not confined to his scheme of union: he directed that particular attention should be paid to the advancement of learning; and that a second college should be erected in the neighbourhood of Dublin, or some other part of Ireland. Cromwell had always paid marked attention to learning and learned men, and was well aware how much the glory and prosperity of nations depend upon their degree of knowledge and reputation in the world.

It is greatly to the honour of the Cromwellian officers that they purchased, at their private expense, for a sum of two thousand five hundred pounds, the valuable library of Primate Usher, which was sold after his death for the benefit of his daughter. Usher had intended to leave his library to Trinity College, Dublin; but the war having driven him from his see, he became involved in difficulties, and had no other property to leave his only child.

The officers intended the library for the new college, and it was deposited in the Castle till the building should be erected. But the Restoration having put an end to the scheme of the college as to other plans of improvement, the library fell into the hands of the University of Dublin, which had so good a claim to it.

CHAP. XIX.

REIGN OF CHARLES II.

On the death of Cromwell the train which political events were likely to take was instantly discerned. The Cromwellians had always been remarkable for decision; they were so now. They saw that there was no man capable of wielding Cromwell's truncheon. His sons, Richard and Henry, were too good to be usurpers, and too wise to be kings. They were therefore out of the question. The party of the republicans, though still full of energy, were few.

The British people are essentially aristocratic, or have been so. They are pleased with a small mixture of democracy, for appearance-sake, and for utility, and with a show of monarchy for ornament. But the solid substance of the state has ever been an aristocracy, and was so even under the Commonwealth.

The Cromwellians of Ireland, the levellers, and the sons of the levellers, whose zeal against monarchy was like a devouring fire, hastened to declare for the King, before yet Monk had time to mature his measures; and the movements in

Ireland had probably some effect in quickening the proceedings of that cautious betrayer of his party. Charles was already invited to Ireland, and was on the point of embarking, when the movements of Monk made him turn his eyes to England.

Coote and Broghil, still wet with the blood of the King's friends and soldiers, and Inshiquin, whose hand was but a little while withdrawn from the slaughter, were now the most forward loyalists of the land. They were graciously received and rewarded with titles, employments, and estates.

Charles is censured for having distinguished and rewarded these men. But the King was still uncertain of the ground he stood upon. These men did not rest upon their loyalty alone, or at all: they stood upon their power, and they knew that the Stuarts always truckled to power. Besides, they had long managed a communication with Charles, which was to serve as a bower-anchor, in case the cable of the Commonwealth or that of the Protectorate gave way. Ormond was this anchor. They were necessary to Ormond, and he to them. They connected him with Cromwell and the Commonwealth; he connected them with the crown. Their acceptance by the King, therefore, was a matter of course. Ormond persuaded Charles that the Cromwellians had, without intending it, done import-

ant service to the crown, by establishing a strong English interest in Ireland, and rooting out the Irish proprietors. Charles readily adopted this notion, because it fell in with his indolence and his fears, both which inclined him to leave things as they were, and do nothing. It served him also as a kind of political excuse, for the ingratitude and injustice of his conduct towards his Irish adherents. This notion of rooting out the old Irish had always been a favourite one with the Stuarts. James had acted upon it to the utmost extent of his power, and his son Charles had a longing desire to imitate his father, which was only checked by the difficulties and troubles of his reign.

Charles would gladly have escaped from the consideration of the great questions relative to Ireland, which pressed upon him at the moment of his accession. But it could not be. They called imperiously for a decision. The chief was, what was to be done with the confederates? He and his father had repeatedly treated with them, and confirmed the terms of their treaties. They had both been in incessant intercourse with them. The Catholics had powerfully assisted the royal cause in England, Scotland, and on the Continent, with liberal supplies of men and money. They had continued the war against Cromwell in Ireland to the last extremity; and their loyalty had been such that they had re-

jected the most favourable terms from the parliament; had quarrelled with the nuncio and the clergy; and broken with O'Neil and the northern Irish, whose loyalty was too much mixed with common motive. And finally, to crown their merits, they were abandoned by the old Irish, subdued by the new English, and had lost their estates, property, power, every thing.

They had, in fact, done too much to expect any recompense. The King might have remunerated ordinary services, but when such a mass of obligation as this was cast upon him, there was no way of treating it but by throwing it off in a lump. Charles had already decided the point with his conscience, upon the arguments of state which Ormond had suggested. But he had the grace to make a show of looking into the matter. The claims of the Irish were debated before the English privy council, at which the King attended regularly. The matter in dispute respected the estates which the confederates had lost, and the Cromwellians had gained. The council first decided as a preliminary that the Cromwellians should not be disturbed, and then gravely proceeded to enquire into the case.

It was clear that the only object the council had in view was to discover some means of getting rid of the confederates and their claims, with decency, if possible, but, at all events, to get rid of them. Charles found it necessary to treat

them with some show of attention, because of the interest which the French king took in their cause, upon whom he was already a dependent. The council were puzzled, on looking into the matter, to find that a great number of the claims of the confederates were of a nature that could not be shuffled off. This was embarrassing. It had been decided, and it was still determined, that the Cromwellians should not suffer. It was now resolved that those of the confederates, whose claims could not be, in some way or other, defeated, should be restored to their estates; but that the present Cromwellian possessors should get lands of equal value in exchange, or, as it was called, should be *reprised*; and further, that until the reprisal was made, no "royalist sufferer" should be put in possession. This resolution changed nothing; but it opened a door for hearing claims; and that those claims might be properly heard and determined, a Court of Commissioners was appointed to sit in Dublin, and hear and decide upon all cases of forfeitures arising out of the late war.

Instructions were given to the commissioners, which it was thought would not fail to exclude so great a number of the claimants as would bring the business within the compass of an easy adjustment. The claimants were divided into two classes, *innocents* and *nocents*. The first, to be entitled to restitution of their lands, on the

Cromwellian possessors being reprised or indemnified; the second, to be dismissed without remedy. No man was to be deemed innocent who had joined the confederacy before the peace of 1648; or who, previously to that period, had lived within the quarters of the confederates, though he might not have joined them or concurred with them, and though he might not have had the means or possibility of living elsewhere. And none who had at any time adhered to the nuncio, or having been excommunicated by that person, had acknowledged himself in error, and received absolution. There were a variety of other qualifications of innocency, which it was hoped would limit to a very small fraction the number of those entitled to restoration. Upon this presumption the commissioners were directed to proceed. The confederates complained bitterly and justly of the qualifications, but there was no remedy.

But the amazement and dismay of king, council, and Cromwellians, were extreme, when it was found that, after all these precautions, nearly two hundred claimants were pronounced innocent in the first sittings of the court, and only about twenty nocent. Ormond, who was the contriver of the whole scheme of the court and the qualifications, was confounded. The Cromwellians were outrageous: they talked loudly of appealing to arms, and actually took

some steps with that view: they held meetings, appointed committees, and established correspondences throughout the kingdom. But Ormond, who was now again lord-lieutenant, acted with vigour. He arrested some, soothed others, and by timely management diverted the storm, and saved the Cromwellians, whom he was anxious to preserve. This failure tended to subdue the spirit of those hot republicans, whose abhorrence of king and kingly government always mingled with their seditions, and easily burst, on the slightest concussion, from beneath the thin, external, coating of loyalty which prudence made them wear.

The surprise of the Cromwellians had been the greater on the first decisions of the court of claims, because great management had been used to procure the nomination of *friendly* commissioners. But the cases made by the claimants were too strong for mere partiality. Another and more effectual security against those embarrassing claims was now proposed and adopted. The time for the sitting of the commission was limited to a certain number of days, during which it was calculated that it would be impossible, with the utmost despatch, to get through more than a very small portion of the claims, and this portion might be further diminished by various contrivances to create delay. The number of claims entered for hearing were

about four thousand; of these about one thousand were heard, when the court rose and never sat after. And though the sufferers made strong and repeated supplications to the King and the commissioners to be heard, His Majesty was advised not to accede to their request. These persons were finally and irretrievably ruined.

Even the small proportion of claims that had been heard and admitted created much embarrassment. It was found that there were no lands out of which to satisfy the Cromwellians who were to be dispossessed. This led to an enquiry into the mode which had been originally adopted of satisfying the claims of the soldiers and adventurers; and such abuses were speedily discovered as made those persons extremely ready to make such reductions and compositions of their portions as afforded a sufficient fund for reprisals. Whole baronies and districts had been assigned in consideration of small portions of pay. Lord Antrim's estate, consisting of 107,000 acres, had been granted to Sir John Clotworthy, afterwards Lord Massarene, and some others, in consideration of a sum of 7000*l.*, *alleged* to be due for their pay and adventures.

To prevent further investigation, the soldiers and adventurers, who were alarmed at this kind of enquiry, came forward and offered voluntarily to abate. The Irish claimants also made abatements. All parties became impatient to have

the matter closed. The ACTS of SETTLEMENT and EXPLANATION were prepared and pushed rapidly through parliament, and soon received the royal assent.

Thus a great portion of the lands of Ireland changed owners; and a Protestant proprietary was substituted in place of a Catholic one. The great body of the Irish land-owners who were deprived of their estates carried their indignation to the Continent, and filled all Europe with their complaints. Then were first formed those celebrated battalions, which, under the name of the Irish brigade, became afterwards so distinguished in the military history of Europe.

As between the three great parties to the arrangement under the celebrated "Act of Settlement," the King, the confederates, and the Cromwellians, there can be no doubt that the confederates were sacrificed to the policy or necessities of the King, and that the Cromwellians, whatever were their merits, had none to plead in respect of the crown, against which they had waged a bitter and successful warfare. The confederates had lost all in supporting the monarchy; the Cromwellians had gained every thing in making war upon it. The fate of both exhibits the crown as something dangerous to serve, and ruinous to lay under obligation; but which may be attacked or betrayed, if with sufficient boldness and success, without apprehen-

sion of ultimate disfavour or disadvantage. But it is to be hoped, for the honour of monarchy, that such men as the Stuarts are seldom to be found wearing crowns. The history of the British islands furnishes no instance of a parallel.

There is no doubt that to have restored the confederates to their estates would have required an exertion of vigour far beyond what Charles was capable of. The Cromwellians were determined not to resign them without battle: they were prepared to fight. They had their friends and fellow-soldiers scattered throughout England, with whom they maintained a constant correspondence. The army in Ireland was at their disposal. The King's position was still critical; and these men would undoubtedly have raised a storm that would have embarrassed so weak a man. It was some sign of grace that he anxiously cast about in search of some shadow of excuse for abandoning his old and burdensome friends, the confederates. The Cromwellians, observing the nature of his perplexity, set themselves to work to relieve him.

By great exertion and industry they procured copies of the instructions sent by the supreme council of the confederates to their agents at Rome and the other continental courts. Those instructions authorised the Irish agents to make a tender of the kingdom to the Pope, or to France, Spain, or any country or government

that would deliver them from the burden of their own affairs. These papers were read before the council; the King affected the utmost indignation and surprise, and ordered that in future no petitions should be received from the Catholics. The door was thus closed upon those mendicant loyalists. The indignation of Charles was but dissembled, for he was well acquainted with the instructions, and had been a concurring party to some of them. His anger would have been well warranted in any other man, and even in him, some contempt might be pardoned, if sincere, for those who could traverse Europe in search of a meaner servitude.

Charles had consented to the Act of Settlement, partly from weakness of character and partly from necessity. Ormond had persuaded him that it was an indispensable measure, as well as founded upon good policy. But the King had occasional misgivings of conscience, and sometimes even doubts of the wisdom of the decisive step he had taken; the court of France was decidedly against it; and at length he went so far as to issue a commission of enquiry to examine and report whether any, and what, errors inconsistent with his original declaration (which was stated to be the true groundwork of the settlement) had crept into those famous acts. The Cromwellians remonstrated, and, as was their custom, threatened an appeal to arms. But

the King was now a pensioner of France, and, supported by the French monarch, thought less than formerly of the seditions and discontents of his Irish subjects.

Nor is it wonderful, if, upon reflection, (if Charles ever reflected,) he should have suspected the effect and tendency of the Act of Settlement. It was a revolutionary measure of an extremely violent character. It confirmed and fortified the power of the men who had dethroned his father and brought him to the block. And though they were now placed at a little distance, yet their position in Ireland, which gave them the command of a kingdom, might in certain events become very dangerous.

The ingratitude of the Stuarts to their Irish adherents, if it was a sin, like other sins, worked its own punishment. The weakness and insincerity of the first Charles led him to the scaffold; and the ingratitude of the second, precipitated James from the throne. James paid the penalty of his brother's offences, as well as his own.

The Cromwellians acted upon all occasions with great spirit and prudence. They seemed, every man, to have inhaled a portion of their great leader's craftiness and decision. They restored Charles to his father's throne, but not until they were fully sensible, that if they did not put their hands to the work it would be done without them. They were aware that the great

body of the people had never been with them; and they knew that the eyes of the multitude were turned towards the prince who claimed them for his inheritance. The imbecility of Charles was his grand recommendation to the republicans. They trusted to his weakness for a confirmation of the power and property they had acquired in Ireland; and relied upon his imprudence ultimately to restore to them the people.

The British parliament were alarmed at Charles' "Commissions of Inquiry." That assembly felt all the importance of the Cromwellian settlement in Ireland. They considered it as the grand sheet-anchor of liberty; —the foundation upon which the hopes of England rested, as far as there was yet a love of freedom in that country. The eyes of the "scattered remnant" of those resolute and spirited men whose magnificent schemes of civil and religious liberty were for the present defeated, all turned towards Ireland as the point of salvation.

What was liberty in England, was in Ireland slavery. The question lay in the former country between the King and the people; in the latter, between the people and the Cromwellians. The King might have been disposed to be a tyrant in England, but had not the power. In Ireland, the Cromwellians formed a great and ferocious oligarchy, which, interposed between king and peo-

ple, annihilated the authority of the former, and ruled the latter with a whip of scorpions. So extraordinary a power has seldom been seen in the world as that of the Cromwellian oligarchy of Ireland. In aid of the dominion it exercised, it sometimes put the parliament and the council of England into motion; and in return, when occasion required, it supported these, by demonstrations of extraordinary strength and vigour.

The high tone assumed by the English parliament compelled Charles to give up his Commission of Inquiry. The commissioners were withdrawn. But the dispossessed Irish still cherished hopes: and as the chief point urged against them at that day, as it has been since, was the temporal power assumed, or alleged to be assumed, by the Pope; to deliver themselves from this imputation a priest of the name of Walsh undertook to draw up an address of congratulation to the King on the part of his Roman catholic subjects, in which they take occasion to renounce and deny in the most explicit terms any power or authority in the Pope to absolve the King's subjects of the Roman communion from their allegiance, or in any way to exercise or assume temporal jurisdiction.

But it was soon found that the clergy were by no means agreed upon the point of papal authority.

Walsh's address was called the *Remonstrance;*

and two parties were speedily formed in the church, called the Remonstrants, and Anti-remonstrants, or the supporters and opposers of the address. The catholic laity have ever been divided into two bodies; which have been sometimes designated by the terms Catholic, and Papist. The former, including those who simply concur in the religious opinions of the church; the latter, marking the adherents to the power and authority of the papacy. Again, the professed adherents of the papacy were divided into two other parties, religious and political. The latter were mere political papists, who contended for the power of the papacy to its utmost extent; solely because their own political power depended upon it, or was intimately connected with it. They had need of the pope as a political ally; and therefore did not choose to question his political pretensions. These parties amongst the catholics have existed down to our own times.

Notwithstanding the hostility of the Cromwellians, and the operation of the Acts of Settlement which passed sentence of beggary upon the catholic proprietary, we find that the old acts of Elizabeth's and James's reigns touching conformity in worship were hardly put in force. At this time, the catholic clergy held their national, provincial, and other meetings without molestation. Catholics were admissible in both houses of parliament. The truth was, that the spirit of the Cromwellians was somewhat awed

after the Restoration by the well known dispositions of the King as to religion. They were also so fully occupied in the defence of their temporal interests that they were willing to compound the matter somewhat as to their spiritual concerns: they were content to suffer the great lady of Babylon to establish her dominion over the minds of the Irish for a season, while they secured possession of their estates.

An attempt, however, was made to impose the oath of supremacy on members of parliament, which did not succeed; and a bill was also proposed for that purpose, but was rejected by the council in England. Another effort was then made to exclude Catholics by a "vote of the House," that all their members should take the oath of supremacy and receive the sacrament from the hands of the primate. This vote, however, had no effect, and was understood to apply to protestant members only. In the Lords the catholic peers continued to sit as before, and were excused from the ceremony of the oath and the sacrament, or from attending the prayers of the House. It has ever been to be lamented that the established religion has been used as an instrument of faction: this abuse of the sacrament, with an intention of annoying an adverse political party, is a painful instance of the profanation of the solemn services of Christianity.

CHAP. XX.

The first parliament that sat in Ireland after the Restoration was composed of even stranger materials than the celebrated long parliament of England. The members were all adventurers and soldiers of Cromwell's stock. Many of these had lately found themselves in the oddest situations. Great numbers were private soldiers, who being suddenly advanced to the situations of magistrates, sheriffs, and other dignitaries, were entangled in a thousand awkwardnesses, from which they had no means of escape, but in the audacity of their old trade as revolutionists. When they got together in parliament their embarrassments increased. But, like true soldiers, they still relied upon the resource of boldness. In their intercourse with the House of Lords, they got into many perplexities in consequence of their ignorance of the forms and ceremonies of proceeding towards their Lordships' house; and some of the disputes between the two Houses upon this subject were perfectly ludicrous. The Lords accused them in plain terms of ignorance and vulgarity; and finally refused to hold any

conference with such a shabby House of Commons. The Lords' House was now a thin one, but it was still the ancient House of Lords. The Commons were almost entirely new.

After the restoration, Ormond, now Duke of Ormond, was repeatedly lord-lieutenant. The King found him almost an indispensable person in the strange and awkward circumstances of the country. Ormond had, himself, in a great degree, created that state of things which made him indispensable. He had contrived to manage an interest with every party. He was intimately acquainted with the state of the country, and the views, character, and means of every individual of rank or power. He was the great patron of the Cromwellian interest, which he had rendered the predominant interest in Ireland; and though the Catholics knew, that, next to their own weakness and folly, they owed their ruin to Ormond, many of them still looked up to him, as the only individual who could preserve a remnant of their body from being utterly destroyed, if yet conscience or compassion had any influence upon that extraordinary man.

He had now recovered his hereditary property, which, all his management with the Cromwellian government had not been able to preserve from its grasp. Ormond's property, previous to the war, had been greatly incumbered; it owed by judgment and mortgage about nine tenths of its

value. He now procured an act vesting all incumbrances affecting landed property in Ireland in the King, and then obtained from His Majesty a grant to himself of all incumbrances affecting his own estates. In addition to this important acquisition he obtained various grants of forfeited lands of the confederates, estimated at that time at about 600,000*l.* in value. His hereditary estates, independently of this accession, produced him, before the war, about 7000*l.* per annum. They now yielded about 80,000*l.* a year. In addition to this, the Cromwellian parliament, with the "wisdom of the serpent," voted him a grant of 30,000*l.*; by which bribe they fixed him steadily in their interest; and stifled any relentings he might have for the ruin of his own connections and friends.

These enormous gains, by the calamities of his country, darkened the shade which had for a long time rested upon the character of this eminent man. When we recollect that he was the contriver and adviser of the "Act of Settlement," by which such immense acquisitions were confirmed to himself; that the estates thus acquired were the property of the old nobility of the land, with most of whom he was connected by blood and long and intimate association; that they were the very men with whom he had treated in the King's name, and pledged his own and his master's faith,—with whom he

had acted in the King's service, and who had even served under his command; — when all this is considered, we shall not be surprised to observe, even at that period, in the midst of the extraordinary pomp and splendor with which he was surrounded after the Restoration, and which vied with, if it did not surpass, the lustre of majesty,— that the finger of reproach was pointed at him, and the voice of frantic suffering poured its imprecations on his head; accused him of treachery, and made its loud and solemn appeal to heaven against the splendid betrayer of his kindred and his country.

Ormond, though he seems to have prepared himself for the clamour of "undone men," was not wholly insensible to this voice when it broke forth in all its violence. But while he endeavoured to suppress it, he did not attempt to answer. He was assailed by a number of publications printed in England and Ireland. One of these, "The unkind Deserter," seemed to call for a reply. But the Duke contented himself with suppressing the publication and punishing the printer. He did not dare to bring the question into court.

During the whole war he had practised with the confederates, and had prevented, by his influence, the Anglo-Irish from coalescing with the old Irish, promising them at the Restoration a triumphant restitution of their estates. When

now, therefore, he forsook those whom he had betrayed, he well deserved the name of "unkind deserter."

As if to atone for his *sharp practice* as a politician, and to reconcile the country to his ill-gotten magnificence, he exerted himself now to promote the trade and agriculture of his ruined country. He made vigorous efforts to establish manufactures, and exerted his great influence with the British government to obtain their concurrence in his plans for the improvement of Ireland. His schemes were directed with skill and judgment. But he had no sooner entered upon this line of policy than he was encountered by the prejudices of the English people. While the Duke had employed his great abilities in dividing and subduing his countrymen,—even while he was enriching himself with their spoils, he heard from the other side of the Channel nothing but voices of cheering and applause. But the moment he directed his attention to promote the industry, and add to the wealth of Ireland, he was met by the narrow prejudices of the time, and murmurs and disapprobation followed his efforts. This subject was first opened by the question relative to the export of cattle from Ireland to Great Britain.

England, though not utterly reduced to a mass of ruins like Ireland, had still suffered severely by the war. On the Restoration, when

the excitement of the civil conflict had ceased, and the energy which the genius of Cromwell had breathed into the nation had passed away, there came a season of extreme exhaustion. Trade seemed extinguished. The revenue had fallen off alarmingly. The manufacturer was idle, and the merchant found no demand for his wares. This state of things, which was the natural consequence of the violent exertions of the nation in the wars lately concluded, puzzled all the politicians of that day to account for.

The Duke of Buckingham, and other eminent *economists* of that period, pronounced that it was all owing to the importation of lean cattle from Ireland. The English nation eagerly adopted the profound exposition, and beset the throne with remonstrances, and the parliament with petitions, against the mischief of Irish cattle. Those lords and commoners, who were interested in Irish estates, combated the notion; and the King seems to have had sense enough to see that the evil had no connection with Irish cattle. Ormond exerted himself to preserve this, almost only, branch of Irish commerce then existing.

The commercial jealousy of England had placed Ireland in a state of blockade. Her ports were closed against external commerce; and she was interdicted all trade with foreign nations. Those prohibitions had been, until

now, but imperfectly obeyed. On the coast, where the Irish nobility of the old race had longest preserved their power, they were little regarded. During the power of the parliament, or convention of Kilkenny, they were wholly laid aside, and Ireland enjoyed an interval of free trade. On the Restoration they were renewed in all their force.

It had been for a series of ages the political creed of British statesmen, that Ireland was a country to be governed, not with a view to the happiness or well-being of its people, nor yet to increase, by means of its population or resources, the wealth or power of Great Britain. The only ends proposed in the occupation and government of that country were to preserve it from falling into the hands of foreign and hostile nations; and especially to prevent it from using its own energies, so as to become a powerful, prosperous, or united nation; and, therefore, as it was believed, a dangerous rival to the commercial greatness of England, if not to her political power. Her natural advantages of soil, climate, position, harbours, rivers, &c. were exaggerated by the fears and jealousies of the statesmen of those times; and they looked forward with serious apprehensions to the period when the wisdom of her inhabitants, or other unhappy accident, might put an end to the miseries

of that country, and place her under the full operation of her envied natural advantages.

This system of government was extremely expensive. It occasioned a perpetual struggle, and an incessant warfare, which hardly even the resources of Britain could sustain. The imaginary commercial advantages, which England in this way procured, were dear purchases. It had always been the policy of the British adventurers in Ireland to flatter this notion, that under a native government, or under a good government of any kind, Ireland would become a dangerous rival to Great Britain; and they eagerly promised, if assisted in their plunder of the country, to keep it as poor, powerless, and dependent, as could be desired. The Cromwellians adopted the same idea; and in the outset of their government, and at all times, it was their practice to court the ruling powers in England, by a systematic depression, and sacrifice of the interests, of their new country. In all their publications, which were very numerous after the Restoration, and during the reigns of James and William, they put forward strongly, their great merit and utility to Great Britain, in paralysing the natural advantages of Ireland, and preventing her from ever becoming so considerable as to excite the fears of the British government. They represented themselves as an incubus upon Ireland, or as a

vampire which sucked her veins, and kept her in a state of perpetual exhaustion and debility; and as deserving, on that account, of being encouraged and supported by all the power and resources of England.

But the supposed interests of either England or Ireland were of little consequence at this period, compared with the great and paramount question which was now at issue between the Lords Buckingham and Ormond. These two noblemen divided the King's favour, and the British dominions between them. Ormond appears to have been content with the dominion of Ireland, but did not brook any interference in this his domain. Buckingham was not satisfied that the kingdom of Ireland should be abstracted from the wide extent of empire to which he pretended.

The Cattle Bill was the arena upon which the combatants met. The British House of Commons declared the importation of Irish cattle a *nuisance*. The lords, more discreet, changed the word into *detriment* and *mischief*. The Commons, in a rage, insisted upon their "nuisance;" the Lords, with more dignity, but equal pertinacity, refused to abandon their favourite "detriment and mischief." A third party proposed to make the importation of Irish cattle a *premunire* or "felony;" and a fourth

proposed, with more wit, but as much reason, that it should be held to be "adultery."

While this contest raged, advices were received of an insurrection in Scotland; upon which the Commons became suddenly appeased upon the question of Irish cattle. But unluckily for the Irish cattle-trade, the Scotch did not hold out long; the insurrection was subdued; and the Commons renewed their violence against the lean cattle of Ireland. While this was going on, the fire of London took place; but the contest about the lean cattle survived the flames, and what was more extraordinary, gathered strength from the conflagration.

The Irish, in the kindness of their hearts, thought it necessary to make a collection for the relief of the sufferers by the fire. But having no money, and little other property than cattle, and the land upon which they grazed, their collection for the poor sufferers in London consisted only of some thousand head of four-footed beasts. The people of England, not attending to the poverty of the nation, saw a deep design in this plan of relief; and far from being thankful for the kind intentions of their Irish friends towards them, they ascribed the proceeding to an artful scheme for the introduction of Irish cattle into England; with a design thereby to ruin and destroy the nation. The burning of London, great as the calamity was, fell but upon one city; but

the Irish contribution of horned cattle was pointed against the well-being of the whole kingdom. The gift-horse of the Greeks was not more pregnant with mischief to the state of Troy, than the subscription-cows of Ireland, to Great Britain.

The Duke of Buckingham, though probably not so much alarmed as many of his countrymen at the cows, still continued to oppose the importation, and used all his influence to push the bill with the *nuisance* clause through the House. He declared that no one would oppose the bill, but such as had "Irish estates," or "Irish understandings:" this was considered, it seems, in that day, as a sarcasm, and one which ought to be resented. Lord Ossory, son to the Duke of Ormond, sent a challenge to His Grace of Buckingham, who, not choosing to fight a man "with an Irish understanding," preferred complaining to the House, and Lord Ossory was sent to the Tower. Though the Duke of Buckingham's objection was not an uncommon one, yet it did not appear perfectly satisfactory, and the young Lord was soon released; and we find him a short time after, still contending against the bill, and taunting the promoters of it with exercising a virulence "fitting only for the counsellors of Cromwell." This expression fell upon sore places. But none of the Cromwellian Lords challenged the young man with the "Irish understanding." They were, however, the stronger

party, and the Bill passed with the "nuisance" clause.

Lord Ossory appears to have been a young man of excellent character. He was much admired in England; and in Ireland he was beloved. Full of courage, candour, and nobleness of mind, his ambition seems to have been of a higher order than his father's. Valuing power and possessions less, he was free to exercise his talents, (and they seem to have been considerable,) in the more glorious pursuit of doing good, and promoting the welfare of his country and dependents.

In contending against the Cattle Bill, Ormond and Ossory had, no doubt, taken the course which their own interest, as well as that of Ireland, suggested. All foreign trade being prohibited, the trade with England alone remained; and this consisted chiefly in the exchange of live cattle for manufactured commodities or for money. Without this trade Irish estates could pay no rents, or pay them only in cattle or corn. Accordingly, when the Cattle Bill put an end to the remnant that remained of Irish commerce, all contracts and other dealings in Ireland were transacted by way of exchange; cattle was the sole currency of the country. The subscriptions to relieve the sufferers by the fire of London had been of necessity in this inconvenient coin. There was no other. Taxes, rents, and subsidies to the crown, were collected and paid in cattle.

This extraordinary state of things was brought about by the severe coercion of the British system, never before completely established, but now executed in all its rigour, through the agency of the Cromwellian settlement. In the remotest times of history, Ireland abounded in gold and silver. The most ancient Irish deeds, and books of rents and tributes, all specify their reservations in ounces of the precious metals, as well as in corn and cattle, and in horses, arms, and manufactured cloth.

The scarcity of gold and silver at this period was occasioned, in a great measure also, no doubt, by the immense emigration which had taken place. Those who abandoned their homes and country for ever carried with them as large a supply of the precious metals as they could collect, converting all their property, at whatever sacrifice, into money, and thus sweeping the country of all its store of gold. Another cause of the drain of the metals was, perhaps, the new class of absentee proprietors, which was formed, or extended, by the late wars, and to whom now a large portion of the rents of Ireland began to be remitted.

The Scotch parliament, thinking, no doubt, that the parliament of London was the perfection of political wisdom, and that if Irish cattle were a nuisance in England, they could not be less destructive of Scotch prosperity, passed an act pro-

hibiting the importation of cattle and corn from Ireland into Scotland. The Scotch at that period took their political economy from England; since then, the English have been supplied with this manufacture by the Scotch. The English article was then, undoubtedly, of bad quality. The modern science is certainly a great improvement, though far from having arrived at that certainty or perfection which it so confidently boasts.

Finding themselves persecuted by the Scotch and English economists, the Irish were driven to measures of relief and retaliation, in which the Cromwellian parliament were forced, from the severe pressure of the case upon themselves, to concur. The importation of manufactured goods from Scotland, consisting of linens, woollens, stockings, gloves, and a variety of other articles, were prohibited by the Irish parliament. And the King, by an order of council, which he contrived to procure "for the further relief of his Irish subjects," permitted them a free trade to all foreign countries, whether at war or peace with His Majesty. This was an extraordinary permission, and deserves to be noticed for its singularity and wisdom.

The King had made every effort to conquer the prejudices of his English subjects, or to soften the hostility of Buckingham, whose only object was to distress and annoy Ormond, and

he could not succeed. He therefore permitted his Irish subjects to carry on that trade with foreigners, which the English declined, when they refused the only medium of exchange which the country afforded. But when he permitted them to trade with foreign nations, whether at war or peace with the King, he set an example of wisdom and humanity, which it is to be regretted has never been followed by Christian belligerents. The vices of this prince found imitators in all ages; this single instance of virtue and sound policy has never found one.

Ormond, in the mean time, pursued steadily his plan of promoting the internal improvement of the country. He imported a number of foreigners from the Low Countries, skilled in the woollen and linen manufactures, and settled them on his own estates at Clonmel and Carrick, in the county of Tipperary, and in the neighbourhood of Dublin. He had an ambition to rival Strafford in his *improvements*, as he certainly imitated him in his ambition and love of wealth. But Ormond had neither the elevation of Strafford's character nor his imprudence. Ormond was a trimmer; Strafford was a direct and straight-forward man. Like Ormond, he loved wealth and power, but he would stoop to no compromise to obtain them. Strafford did not suffer death for his vices but for his honesty. Ormond reaped unmeasured wealth and honours,

not by means of his virtues or his talents, but as the reward of his treachery and meanness.

About this time the Duke lost his distinguished son Ossory, the honour and ornament of his house. But this severe domestic calamity does not seem to have abated in the old man his passion for wealth or power: he still clung to his place, and continued his contest with Buckingham.

While contending with the intrigues of his powerful rival, and occupied with the cares of his government, he was suddenly alarmed with the rumour of a PLOT, which reached him while at a distance from Dublin. As he approached the city the report gained strength, though still it was indistinct and confused, like the sound of distant thunder; but there was enough to give note of the storm that was mustering its rage.

At length a despatch from the Secretary of State in England reached him, with the official announcement of the POPISH PLOT; a ramification of which, he was informed, extended to Ireland, where great numbers were implicated. The despatch concluded with the alarming intelligence that the Duke himself was marked out as one of the destined victims of the plot in that country.

CHAP. XXI.

ORMOND was too old and experienced a plot-maker not to discern instantly the true character of this new fabrication; but he was also too well acquainted with the force and power of the machine, to make any attempt to stop its action or impede its movement. He knew that the only means of safety were to be found in permitting it full play, and suffering it to exhaust its momentum upon its appointed victims. He affected to give full credence to the plot; seemed to be duly alarmed, and hastened to take immediate measures to disarm the Catholics, and secure all suspected persons.

Three persons were named to Ormond as principals in the plot in Ireland, whom he was directed immediately to apprehend and secure; and it deserves notice, that in the choice of these three persons, the plot-makers were particularly unhappy. One of these, Lord Mountgarret, was dying of old age; another, Peter Talbot, was dying of disease; and the third, Colonel Peppard, happened never to have been in existence! There was no such person. The two dying

men were easily secured; the other baffled all pursuit. Notwithstanding Ormond's admirable acting upon this occasion, and some measures of great severity against the catholics, which he found it absolutely necessary to adopt, the fabricators of the plot were not content. They suspected him of incredulity, and called for stronger proofs of his faith. And they condescended to assist the wisdom of the chief governor, by pointing out, that all persons of rank, or pretended rank, of *Irish name*, should be secured and imprisoned.

From the reign of Elizabeth, when the power of the old Irish nobility was first broken, we find this odium, and proscription of names, prevailing very generally in Ireland. It was an affectation of the descendants of the Cromwellian soldiers and adventurers to consider the names of the old nobility of Ireland as *ungenteel*, and whenever a plot could be got up, or a disturbance excited, it was the fashion to suspect all who bore those ancient appellations, and sometimes to take the name as proof of treason. But on this occasion the Duke ventured to disregard the intimations he received. He understood them too well. They hinted at a game he had himself played with success, but which he was now too old to attempt, and little inclined to practise for the benefit of others. He was too proud a man to be the instrument of another's villany. He had

done too much against the Irish, and did not choose to goad the remnant of that body to destruction.

Ormond's prudence preserved the tranquillity of Ireland. But the contrivers of the plot were enraged at the address with which he met and foiled their artifices. They had counted upon creating a great combustion in Ireland; and, contrary to all former precedent, it continued tranquil. Efforts, however, were still made to push the plot into active operation, though with a strange fatality of folly and absurdity. Reports were spread of an intended invasion from France; and a vessel was named as having sailed for Waterford with arms and military stores. The vessel arrived at Waterford, and was seized and examined, and it was found that her whole cargo consisted of salt. But it was in vain that every attempt to establish the plot, upon any foundation of credibility, failed one after another. A victim was indispensable; and one was at length found in Plunkett, the Roman catholic Archbishop of Armagh.

The Bishop was tried in London, for an offence alleged to be committed in Ireland. The most profligate witnesses, and the most improbable testimony, were produced against him. Time was refused him to bring evidence from Ireland, which would have proved the impossibility of the charges. He was eagerly convicted and

hurried to execution. There are many instances in Irish history of the shocking violation of justice committed in the case of Bishop Plunkett, by trying him out of his own country, at a distance from all means of defence, and where the characters of the accused and of the witnesses must be wholly unknown. In the previous reign Lord Maguire had been so tried; and though there is no doubt that he was concerned in the conspiracy for which he suffered, it is equally certain that the proceedings against him were illegal and unjust: to the last moment of his existence he was tortured with a persecution on account of his religion, and with efforts to extort from him an accusation against the King, that present us with a frightful picture of the cruelty and wickedness of our species.

Plunkett was a man of virtuous and mild character: he was distinguished in Ireland for having always used the influence which his high rank in the church gave him, to promote peace and obedience to the government. It was probably thought that he was just such a man as would be likely to rouse indignation in Ireland, by his death and sufferings. But if Plunkett's murder was a trap for disturbances it did not succeed. Horror and dismay were the only effects produced upon the minds of the people by this atrocious proceeding. While Oates and his accomplices were running their career of

blood in England, Ireland was preserved chiefly by the humanity and good sense of Lord Ormond, from the full power of the visitation.

If, as there is strong reason to suspect, the popish plot was the contrivance of Shaftesbury and his accomplices; we are not therefore to hold that person guilty to the full extent of all the enormities with which it became charged in its progress. When once launched from his hand the plot probably went its own train, and its original contriver might have lost all control over it. It is likely that it soon became the sole property of the base and horrible wretches who were intended, by the first movers, to be no more than mere instruments. They had tasted of blood; and we are too near the period of real and fictitious plots in Ireland not to know that the *informer* soon acquires a rabid appetite for human gore, which grows upon him, and is only to be appeased by large and promiscuous slaughter.

There is no country where fictitious plots have been so much employed as political engines as in Great Britain and Ireland. The reason, perhaps, is to be found in the degree of political liberty enjoyed in these countries. They have been resorted to as a means of acting upon the government, by first acting upon the people. In the absolute governments of the Continent, the state takes no impression from the populace,

Such instruments, therefore, could effect nothing, and could hardly be put into action in those countries. It is only in England that it is sometimes possible to acquire, or to preserve, high political station by the base artifice of exciting the passions of the people by false representations.

It is not very clear what was the original object or design of Oates's plot. That any virtuous intent could have been contemplated, it is difficult to believe. Yet it is certain that this foul plot served as a bulwark against the encroaching despotism of the Stuarts. It kept alive the spirit of liberty in England, then accidentally associated with the spirit of protestantism; and perhaps gave courage to the treason and support to the patriotism, which afterwards, under William, accomplished the deliverance of England from the yoke of the imbecile James.

The King, who must have known the falsehood of the plot, like his Lieutenant Ormond, suffered it to take its course, and never interposed the prerogative of mercy in favour of its innocent victims. It is said, he dared not. But the power that was too feeble for justice was sufficient for oppression. In a short time after the plot had spent its force, Charles found means to establish the most formidable despotism that ever prevailed in Britain; and this, notwithstanding the recent enactment of some of the best laws and

most important provisions for the preservation of liberty that have been ever devised in any country. A remarkable instance of the inefficacy of laws, before their spirit is imbibed by the people.

During this period of "the best laws and the worst government," the Cromwellian settlers in Ireland were in a state of great alarm. Exceedingly apprehensive when any passing cloud of events appeared to throw a shade upon their new possessions, they were terrified at the boundless power which Charles seemed to have acquired, and his reported popish propensities. They would have pardoned him his unjust prosecutions and exorbitant fines, — the expulsion of Locke from Oxford, and the death of Sidney and Russel. They might have been consoled even when they beheld the nation, from end to end, glorying in its servility, and enamoured of its chains, and when they saw the universities, which ought to be the strong holds of liberty, pouring forth their hosts of learned, pious, and enlightened men, to fawn upon the footstool of power, and record their satisfaction at their country's disgrace. They would not have quarrelled with the King's abuse of authority, provided they could have shared with him a fellowship of tyranny. But his propensity to popery threatened the alarming prospect of justice or indulgence to the catholics, and filled them with dismay.

The King now thought himself strong enough to take decided steps in favour of that religion, to which, as far as he was capable of valuing any religion, he seemed inclined; and which, probably, he looked upon as affording the surest basis whereupon to erect a permanent structure of absolute power. With these views it was determined to change the executive government in Ireland; and the King, in a letter written with his own hand, notified to Ormond the necessity he was under of relieving him from the weight of government in that country.

Ormond could not conceal his mortification in parting with power, even in his extreme old age. "I was much to seek," said he, "what it could be that was fit for the King to command, and yet would be hard to impose upon me to execute." While yet the Viceroy was lamenting the loss of his viceregal sceptre, the crown itself fell from the head of Charles. The King died suddenly.

The character of Charles has been often drawn; and those who have drawn it latest, have drawn it blackest. In proportion as the scenes with which he was connected have passed into distance not too remote, we have seen them more distinctly. The troubled politics of the period, the splendour and gaiety of Charles's court, have faded away, and we discern the figures of the pageant, and among them, Charles himself in

the sober light with which time, and distance, and death, invest all mortal subjects.

Charles stood between his father and brother, a more agreeable and worse man than either. Cold, cruel, profligate, false, he was yet instrumental, by his very faults, in laying the foundations of British liberty, and, by the only virtue he possessed, of preparing the ruin and overthrow of his family. If he had been a prince of any character or energy, those securities against arbitrary power, which were the fruit of his reign, would probably not have been sought for, or would not have been obtained. If he had not had some small regard for religion, and some slight degree of principle as connected with that subject, it would have been easy for him to have established, upon a protestant foundation, the most grievous tyranny the country ever experienced. But his inclination towards the catholic church made him disregard the prostrations of the universities, and turn a cold eye upon the long train of churchmen that crept in the dust at his feet, and courted even his most scornful regard. By this conscientious conduct the King fostered that discontent of the establishment, which, after renewing its vain submissions to his successor, at length took arms against the throne, and helped to overturn it.

The extreme anxiety of the church to preserve its connection with the crown was not surprising:

The established religion of England is the religion of the rich and the polite; but as these classes are rarely religious, the church has little hold upon society, whatever may be its importance as a parliamentary or state machine. Deprived of the countenance of government, the episcopal church would lose almost its sole support. The middle and lower orders of the people hang loosely upon it, or are scattered among the sectaries.

The church of England has never been able to attain what that of Rome has so perfectly accomplished, to be the religion of the rich and the poor. The secret, perhaps, is to be found in the grand spectacle of the *sacrifice* which the Roman church presents in her celibacy; which gives her ministry the semblance if not the reality of a vocation, while the British church has all the appearance, and in many cases the reality, of a mere profession.

The reformed church had in the outset the taint of impure motive. The great men of the Reformation had little other object in view than the plunder of the old establishment. Nor when the new church had accumulated wealth was the contrast favourable, which she presented, with the old. The old establishment, like the new, had been greedy of wealth, but had used it differently. Notwithstanding many abuses, the poor were provided for at her expense the

sick and the stranger had provision made for their wants. Her "orders of charity" were multiplied as the exigencies of the people increased. Mansions of "hospitality" were erected for the way-farer in the desert. Her "missions" extended over the globe, and were often zealous and devoted. At home, her tenants lived in ease and abundance on her domains, and hardly felt the light rents they paid, while she reared every where costly and beautiful churches at her own expense, and without charge to the people, for the worship of God and the ornament of the country.

All this was changed at the Reformation. With the purer doctrines of the reformed church came an increase of the burdens of the people. Charity and zeal (odd effect) seemed extinguished by the truth. The poor, and the sick, and the stranger, were left to the tender mercies of the parish officers; the missions ceased; the orders of mercy were no more; the expense of building churches was thrown upon the laity; and a new and meaner order of architecture showed the melancholy change which had taken place. The tithe was collected with severity; and the pastors and the flock exhausted their animosities in the courts of law.

The reformation in England and Scotland, as on the Continent, derived its chief support from the division of the church domains amongst the

first reformers. Those who had got church and abbey lands contended strenously for the truth of the reformation, and the gospel purity of the new worship. In Ireland there was still a stronger interest combined with the cause of the reformation. The entire Cromwellian interest rested upon it. The re-establishment of the Roman church would include the re-establishment of the Irish proprietors in their estates. The preservation of the Protestant worship was considered as a security for the possessions of the Cromwellian soldiers. Hence the zeal for the Protestant faith, and the struggles for the reformed religion which prevailed at this period, and long after in Ireland. A rare and happy union of the interests of this world and the next; though pronounced to be impossible.

CHAP. XXII.

REIGN OF JAMES II.

JAMES the Second was a professed Catholic in religion; in politics he entertained the high prerogative notions of his father and grandfather. He was a man of too little mind to discern that those notions were unsuited to the age and nation that he lived in. The storm which drove him from his throne had been felt even in his brother's reign; but James had not sense enough to be warned. He relied too much upon the support of France, and upon the apparent submission of the people of England. The easy defeat of Monmouth's rebellion was fatal to him; but what was more fatal still was the general corruption which prevailed at his court, and of which he himself set the first unhappy example.

Charles and James were humble pensioners of France; Lewis feared the power of England. He had seen what she could accomplish, when, for the short period of the Commonwealth, she put forth her strength and took her place, without question, the first and greatest of the nations of Europe. This place he had himself assumed, and was ambitious to preserve for the kingdom,

whose glory and splendour were all concentrated in his own person. He had an idea of the magnificence of simple despotism; and was by no means disposed to suffer Charles to be invested with this high and enviable dignity. Lewis was too refined a politician, and frequently defeated his own schemes, by excess of artifice and finesse. If he had gone directly to his object, and chosen to make Charles, or at a later period, James, absolute in England, he might probably have accomplished it. But in attempting to keep up a balance of parties in the state, for the purpose of creating a general weakness and distraction of all, he left place for some strong and straight-forward power to pierce through the confusion, whenever in the progress of events such a power should appear.

Lewis pensioned the king, his family, his favourites, his mistresses, his ministers. A general system of foreign bribery was established. But it was not confined to the court; the French minister bribed all parties; the Catholic party and the Protestant party; the king's party and the country party; the episcopalians and the dissenters; the monarchy-men and the republicans. All, or almost all, received stipendiary or occasional bribes from France, not to accomplish a common object, but that the general conflict and collision of parties might be so

sustained and kept up that the result might be a general weakness and distraction of the nation.

It would be unjust, perhaps, to conclude that every one who took the money of France received it with a concurrence in the donor's views, or with a knowledge of the part he was acting towards others. Possibly some of the popular leaders, who are now known to have taken the money of France, might have thought themselves justified in supporting the cause of liberty and their country even by such means. The whole was a game of chicane and duplicity; and the French minister might sometimes have been the dupe of as cunning intriguers as those of his own school.

On James's accession to the throne the political agitation was greater in Ireland than in England. The property which depended for its security on the colour of James's politics and creed, was much greater in the former country than in the latter, and was also of much more recent acquirement. In England the church lands were almost the only property that was threatened. The question in Ireland included not only the church lands, but the right also of private property to about two-thirds of the kingdom. In England the church claim was necessarily a general one, in which no particular individuals could state themselves to be aggrieved.

In Ireland the dispossessed proprietors, or their heirs, were on the spot, and clamoured loudly for their ancient inheritances. They pointed to the fields, the farms, the castles, and mansion houses, which had been theirs, which they had lost in the service of the crown, and which were now in the possession of the men who had brought the first Charles to the block. They enlarged upon this strange retribution, this singular fortune of loyalty and treason, under a religious and absolute prince, whose sacred duty it was to do justice, and whose power was without bounds.

The new proprietors heard all this clamour, and were fully sensible of their danger. But James was on the throne, and there was no remedy. Ormond in this crisis used to comfort the new settlers in their despair with his old maxim, "Let my countrymen alone, and they will ruin their own cause; — that is your only security, but it is enough." The result justified Ormond's sagacity on this as upon former occasions. But it must be observed that fortune as well as their own imprudence was against the Catholics.

James's outset in his new character of monarch was promising. He began by calming the religious fears of his subjects by a formal declaration in the shape of a speech to his council, in which he announced the principle which was to govern the new reign in civil, and

especially in religious matters. He promised favour and protection to the church of England, and respect for the property of his subjects, and the rights and liberties of the nation.

In Ireland the Duke of Ormond was removed from the government; not to make way for any supporter of Catholicity, but to give place to Lord Clarendon, who was known to be zealously attached to the interest of the church of England. In like manner Lord Lauderdale was appointed to the government of Scotland, a nobleman distinguished for his zeal in the cause of Episcopacy. Thus in England, Ireland, and Scotland, James's first care was to allay the fears, and win the confidence of the established religion. In this he appears to have succeeded. Finding that the church answered to the spell he had used, and was ready to compound for his attachment to Rome, on condition of being permitted to share in the luxury of persecution, James hastened to enter upon this scene of enjoyment in the plenitude of power.

His first experiments were made in Scotland, where, even under his brother's reign, he had tasted the delicious draught which power can extract from misery. The most enormous wickedness, the most cruel murders, were committed by the government of Scotland upon the devoted people of that nation. During these transactions, which have never been surpassed

in barbarity, James's popularity in England continued every day to increase. The parliament, the universities, the legal profession, all ranks and orders of the people, pressed round the throne, declaring their admiration of the oppressor, and especially of the oppression; and their devotion to the usual extent of "life and fortune" in defence of both. So true it is that the people delight in tyranny when they are not the object of it, but are permitted to imagine some identity with the tyrant.

The king's proceedings in Scotland produced resistance in that country, and led to Argyle's feeble insurrection and Monmouth's disastrous invasion. James drank to the dregs the intoxicating cup of cruelty, in the blood of those two men. The death of two such victims seemed calculated to consolidate his authority, and fix his power on as solid a basis as that of his brother Charles, which had resisted the assaults of exasperated patriotism without, and the undermings of corruption within. But it was at this very moment of his utmost triumph that his throne was shaken.

The barbarities that had been long practised in Scotland with impunity were now brought home to the people of England, by the defeat of Monmouth. The people were roused by the excesses of the soldiery and the brutality of Jeffries; and they were shocked by the cruelty and

hardness of heart which James exhibited towards his unhappy nephew. James did not feel the shock his power had received. He only saw his enemies vanquished and bleeding, and the nation prostrate at his feet. Emboldened by these appearances, he now considered that the time was arrived when that portion of his scheme of policy which regarded religion might be carried into effect with safety. He declared his intention of opening the army to Roman Catholics. He sent Richard Talbot, with the title of Earl of Tyrconnel, a Roman Catholic, into Ireland as commander in chief, with full powers to remodel the army in that country without the control or concurrence of the Lord Lieutenant. He removed the Duke of Queensbury from the governn ıt of Scotland, and placed the Earl of Murray, who had embraced the Catholic religion, in that high office. He sent an ambassador to Rome, and received one from the Pope, at his court, in return. He issued a declaration of *indulgence*, as it was called; the object of which was to establish a perfect equality, as to civil rights amongst all the Christian sects. This last measure was no more than simple justice. But simple justice is often the greatest merit that can be imagined, and it was so in this case. There is reason to believe that James really intended no more, than to establish equality of religious rights, and freedom of religious opinion; and higher merit

there could not be than such an intention in the age in which he lived.

But the chastisement due to men's vices is frequently inflicted by their virtues. Often do they run a course of triumphant wickedness, until some solitary virtue, which God bestowed upon them in his wrath, attracts the lightning, and they are destroyed. The idea of a perfect equality amongst sects and creeds could not, in James's time, be understood. One simple notion prevailed universally, that all the sects were hostile bodies, and the one which by fortune or favour obtained the ascendency, was entitled to persecute and oppress all others. James's measures in favour of religious liberty were therefore taken to be nothing more than preparatory movements towards the establishment of Popery, and the exaltation of the Romish church upon the ruins of the Protestant worship. Parliament was roused, and the nation from end to end took the alarm.

The sensation in Ireland was extraordinary. A rumour was in circulation that the king was bound by treaty with France to effect a restoration of the dispossessed proprietors of Ireland to their estates, now in the possession of the Cromwellian party, or their descendants. We have, since, the authority of the French Minister at London (Barrillon), that such at least was James's determination.

James proceeded rapidly. He issued an order

for the reading of the declaration of "Indulgence" in the churches in England and Ireland; and in the latter country an order still more alarming was made, (if any thing could then be more alarming than a cessation of religious persecution,) for disarming the Protestants. The pretence for this order was Monmouth's rebellion. There is undoubtedly reason to think that the Irish Protestants were concerned, to some extent, in that unhappy enterprize; and there is no doubt at all that if it had met with any success, they were ready and prepared to take the field against James. Some slight movements had been made, but fortunately for the Irish of that party, the struggle was too short to commit them.

The disarming occasioned deep murmurs and discontent, and was not effected without difficulty; and perhaps was only peaceably accomplished through the persuasions of Clarendon, who was himself already engaged in the conspiracy forming against James, but who saw that the time of action was not yet arrived, and that for the present submission was the better policy.

It was not without reason that the Cromwellians murmured against a measure which exposed them naked and unarmed to the resentments of a population against whom they had so deeply offended. The cry of the *settlers*, now exposed to the resentment of the people, resounded

throughout the land; and it is only surprising that the account of their sufferings extends very little beyond mere waste and spoil committed by Tories and other banditti, the natural growth of unsettled times.

Forty years had passed since the Cromwellians had swept the great provinces of Leinster and Munster, and much of Ulster and Connaught, with fire and sword, and had not left a babe at the breast, nor youth, nor helpless age, male or female, which their remorseless but vain policy had not destroyed; and now they were surrounded on all sides by a tide of population which threatened to swallow them up. This population had descended from the mountains, — from springs concealed in the cliffs, and inaccessible heights and declivities, and had spread and expanded in the plains. A remnant of the people had taken shelter in the wastes and wildernesses of the country, and were saved; these were the fountains of the new population, which now again pressed the invaders upon all sides with a full measure of the spirit of their ancestors. The Cromwellians saw that the time was drawing near when it would be necessary to fight the battle over again. Their fathers had left them the inheritance of a perpetual conflict.

James had laid his plans with no small share of sagacity; and he carried them into execution, at the commencement of his reign, with some

degree of skill and address. His objects were despotic power and the Roman religion. It is not easy to tell, nor is it material to settle, which of those he valued the more highly. Perhaps he thought that one would have been incomplete without the other. There were two great parties in the nation; the Whigs, with whom the dissenters chiefly concurred, and the Tories, who enjoyed the support of the establishment. The church and the Tories were the natural allies of absolute power. They never quarrelled with despotism, except when their own preservation made it indispensable. The king wisely commenced his projected career, by making gentle advances towards those confederate powers. He easily won their willing confidence; and with their aid he found no difficulty in subduing his great enemies, the Whigs. Despotism was established. But when the king, flushed with the victory he had won, turned round upon his ecclesiastical allies, and would have sacrificed them to their old rivals of Rome, they were amazed; — and hesitated, in an agony of sorrow and despair, as to the course they should pursue. But at length they took their resolution, and joined the Whigs in a body.

The crown was strong enough to beat down one portion of its subjects with the aid of another, but was too weak to stand against both. All the great parties in England were now

arrayed against James. A number of the bishops remonstrated with him against his order for reading the declaration of religious toleration in the churches; and rested their refusal upon the constitutional ground that such a toleration was contrary to the existing laws, and was an assumption of the old abuse of a dispensing power in the crown. The church, in fact, was forced to adopt for the occasion the language and principles of Whiggism.

The king lost his temper. He had been so long used to unqualified submission and arbitrary power, that he knew not how to accommodate himself to any questioning of his commands. He hesitated however; but the folly of imbecility, or treacherous counsels, pushed him on, and the bishops were sent to the Tower. This was the fatal step that decided James's destiny. He tells us himself that he was led to this false step by recollecting that his father had suffered the loss of his crown and life by the want of steadiness and decision. This was true. But the obstinacy of weakness is as fatal as its oscillation. It was wisdom and strength of character that Charles wanted, and which James vainly endeavoured to supply by an inflexibility of folly. He saw his father's defect, but did not perceive that it was also his own, and that nature had denied him the remedy.

The bishops were tried and acquitted. Their

acquittal was the first grand overthrow of the king; and was celebrated throughout England as a national triumph. James now encountered resistance on every side. The lately obsequious universities, which had licked the dust under his feet, struggled stoutly against his authority, and refused to obey his commands. He stood alone in a conflict with all England. In Ireland only, he had a powerful party, which, if he had known how to use, might still have established his throne. But as he lost his temper he became confused. His schemes and plans, all deranged by a single check, were falling in ruin around him. He was a man of no resources. Though his plans were not badly laid, the slightest accident was sufficient to produce irremediable confusion. The insincerity and flexibility of the first Charles had occasioned the destruction of that prince. The obstinacy and honesty of James's character produced similar results. It was, in both cases, the mere want of ordinary capacity, or weakness taking opposite courses.

The power of the church as a political body has been magnified in consequence of the ruin of James following upon its desertion. No body of men have been more industrious or successful in exaggerating their political influence; and they have found their account in this practice. Of itself the church could not have shaken the throne of James; but it was a considerable ac-

cession to the power of the Whigs, which was now directed with great vigour to that object. Aided by the church, the Whigs had succeeded in inoculating the nation once more with its old epidemic abhorrence of Popery. While this phrensy raged, that party were always sure to climb the summit of power. In its progress they became independent of the church, and even masters of its destiny, by directing against it that very zeal for Protestantism on which it seemed founded.

The Protestantism of the people was a horror of Popery. The Protestantism of the establishment was an approximation to it, as close as a consideration for its own safety and emoluments would permit. The churches of England and Rome were distinguished by the same high claims to authority and power, and the same deference and regard for all endowed with those attributes. The church of England had taken her position at no very great distance in point of doctrine, ritual and ceremonial, from her high and exalted parent. She hated Whiggism in politics, as cordially as dissent in religion; her connexion with that party had ever been constrained, as it was in the present instance, and never endured beyond the emergency which created it.

James sat in the centre of a net-work of treachery and corruption, which he had himself been weak and wicked enough to assist in

weaving. There was not in his councils, in all his associations, in his family, even to the very outward verge of the circle that surrounded him, one honest or true man. There is hardly an instance of so total an abandonment, so widespread and disgusting a profligacy; and, bad as human nature is, we cannot escape the conclusion that James must have been the most unamiable man living, with the worst and the coldest heart, or he could not have been so totally bereaved. Many owed him favours, but no one loved him; numbers were indebted to him for fortune and advancement, but no one was his friend.

There prevailed at this time a double, and sometimes treble treachery in the councils of the king. His ministers and servants took his pay and that of France, and were unfaithful to both. There were some in whose pockets the gold of Holland mingled with that of France and England, and who were traitors to all three. Lord Sunderland seems to have surpassed all of his own time in political falsehood and profligacy. And unquestionably there can be no higher degree than the school of James II. afforded. Sunderland betrayed James to France, and France to Holland, and Holland to France. Our astonishment at the variety of his treasons can only be exceeded by our admiration of their skilfulness and success. James was in the

hands of this man as a child in the paws of a tiger, whose sufferings were prolonged by the wantonness and caprice of the monster, but whose fate was inevitable.

The king did not fall into this state of total helplessness till after his cruel murder of his brother's son. His mean and guilty vengeance on the man who had so often threatened, and at length assailed his throne, with an incapacity that proved his birth, was a chief cause of his destruction. Monmouth stood in the way of William: he divided the hostile power that menaced his uncle's throne; he had too little energy or capacity to effect his own purpose, but he had enough to weaken and paralyse the cause of the Revolution. It was the interest of James that Monmouth should live and be his enemy. His death united the whole revolutionary interest under one chief, and that an able one. The stroke that severed the head of Monmouth deprived James of his crown.

While the king's affairs were in the utmost jeopardy in England, Tyrconnel continued to push the re-organisation of the army in Ireland with a zeal that increased every hour the alarm and consternation of the Cromwellian proprietors. James's instructions were that persons of all religions should be admissible to serve in the army. But the Protestants vehemently accused Tyrconnel of admitting none but Catholics; a

charge which, however justly it might excite suspicion of the commander-in-chief, they were little entitled to make, who had always acted upon the same principle, and admitted only Protestants. Neither was the outcry which was raised against him, upon the ground of the alleged heat and precipitancy with which he conducted his measures, better entitled to attention. No intemperance could be charged upon Tyrconnel, that could not be surpassed by the violence upon the other side. The truth was that Tyrconnel was a warm and zealous partisan, but entirely free from that fierce and sanguinary cruelty which was always the sin of the Cromwellians.

But the alarm of the new proprietors was at its height, when their grand enemy was advanced from his post of commander-in-chief to be chief governor of Ireland. This appointment had been long spoken of as likely to take place; but when at length it occurred, the dismay it occasioned seemed as great as if it had never been anticipated,

CHAP. XXIII.

TYRCONNEL'S ADMINISTRATION.

CLARENDON surrendered the sword of state to Earl Tyrconnel in the midst of an unparalleled consternation of the city of Dublin. Fifteen hundred Protestant families abandoned their homes and occupations in the city, and embarked with the abdicating governor for England; a sufficient test of the degree of alarm that prevailed. The triumph of the Catholic party was now considered complete. The Protestants beheld the horrible spectre of a popish lord-lieutenant seated on the vice-regal throne, and all the visions of the Apocalypse danced before their eyes; and the kingdom of the beast and the frightful destruction of God's people became realities to their disturbed and excited imaginations. They crowded from all parts of the country into the towns, abandoning their houses, lands, and improvements; and multitudes, pursued by terror, continued their flight across the sea to England and Holland. In the latter country the Cromwellians had for some time established a communication with the Prince of

Orange, to whom they already looked as their deliverer from James and popery.

It was remarkable at this period that there were now two sets of Irish refugees wandering over Europe, and trailing their grievances and wretchedness through France, Spain, England, and Holland, and other protestant and catholic states of the Continent. The first were the Catholics that had been expelled their estates by the Cromwellian settlers; the second were those settlers themselves, now in their turn threatened with expulsion from their recent acquisitions. To these were added a considerable number of soldiers of the Cromwellian army, discharged by Tyrconnel, or who voluntarily quitted an army that had received the taint of popery.

The Protestant refugees and soldiers went through England, exciting by their complaints, and the exaggerations natural to suffering persons, the pity and commiseration of the people, and inflaming their prejudices against Irish papists to the highest possible degree of excitement. No tale of terror, or story of monstrous enormity, was too much for the credulity of their auditors, when coupled with the twin-terms so obnoxious at that time to the prejudices of the British populace — Irish and Papist. Subscriptions were every where made for the knaves and sufferers who traded upon the good nature and simplicity of the English people. Large sums

were collected; and as the benevolence of the public was called into action, their indignation rose, and the outcry against the popish lord-lieutenant became at length so loud and strong, that Tyrconnel thought it necessary to appeal to the public in his justification.

This he did in a pamphlet entitled "A Vindication of the present Government of Ireland, under His Excellency Richard Earl of Tyrconnel, in a Letter to a Friend;" printed (with allowance) London, 1688. In this letter Lord Tyrconnel sets forth the advantages to Ireland of a native chief governor, in whom the Irish people could place confidence, and whom the British could not distrust, seeing that he was of an ancient and noble English stock, and moreover "married to a lady of English birth." He alludes to the exploits of his ancestors in France under the Henrys and Edwards, and his own conduct in the defence of Drogheda against Cromwell. He adverts to "the embargo upon our West India trade," which he says is "without parallel, considering that we are the same prince's subjects;" —"the like," he continues, "upon our Irish cattle, by an act made for the interest and *faction* of a few British landlords, not only to the prejudice of a kingdom as big and fertile *almost* as England, but to the disaccommodation of many thousands in England as often as they are hungry." He dwells upon the justice and good

policy of persons of all religious opinions being permitted to serve the state. He denies using any strong measures to put Protestants out of the army; or that any man that did not desire it, was put out; but admits that some were discharged at their own request after the inspection at Mullingar. "Nothing," he says, "contributed more to the *consternating* of poor innocent people, or proved so *noisie* as false relations of what passed upon that occasion."

Lord Tyrconnel then enlarges upon the capabilities of Ireland, and the good capacity of her people; and it is remarkable that his observations are pretty much in the same style as we are accustomed to hear at the present day; so little in this respect has nearly a century and a half altered the state of the case. "It is very apparent," he says, "that Ireland breeds a people capable of such instructions as may be of as much use and advantage to the king and country as any of his dominions doth; for example, those who have applied themselves to the law have all arrived at that perfection, that it would be injurious to name particulars. And how adroit in arms foreign countries can witness, how unfortunate so ever at home." Lord Tyrconnel concludes his letter (under a feigned name) with some high commendations of himself.

It deserves to be noticed that at this period

the press, particularly in England, teemed with publications relative to Ireland. The coming events cast their shadows before them. The vast accumulations of pamphlets, which followed each other in dense clouds, and passed away like the first smoke from a volcano, mark strongly in their form and character the nature and intensity of the agitation which then disturbed the public mind. The Protestant proprietors were the most industrious and energetic in their appeals to the king and the people of England. No resource of skill, or ingenuity of management, was left untried to ward off the coming blow, or break its force. In the multitude and variety of their efforts, there was an anxiety, and almost a despair, which was hardly reconcilable with the general character of this resolute body of men; who had so lately, as one of them said in a letter to a friend, come into possession of "houses they had not built, and vineyards they had not planted." This pious person besought his correspondent to pray for them, "that in this great temptation they may not be overcome." But the violence of their fears in that crisis of their fate, which came on shortly after the writing of this letter, sufficiently proves, that however alive the godly soldiery were to the danger of the temptation, they were by no means disposed to withdraw themselves from its power.

The catholics were not inactive on their side; and they seem also to have possessed the superiority of talent. The "Coventry Letter," the work of Sir Richard Nagle, a distinguished Irish barrister, was far superior to any thing which appeared on the other side. This celebrated letter was dated from Coventry, 20th October, 1686, and was followed on the same side by "The Sale and Settlement of Ireland;" also a work of considerable power.

The letter was a direct and vigorous attack upon the "Act of Settlement," the great palladium of the Cromwellian property. It was immediately assailed by a host of pamphlets, amongst which by far the ablest is that entitled "The State of Ireland; with a Vindication of the Act of Settlement and Commissioners' Proceedings. Also Reflections on the late Coventry Letter writ by an eminent Counsellor of that kingdom." By a Person of Honour. London, 1688. The writer, who appears superior to much of the vulgar prejudices of party then prevailing, admits that he has an interest in the preservation of the Act of Settlement, and that he wrote his work "for the satisfaction of those to whom that share I have in Ireland may come, to set down what I know of that settlement whilst fresh in memory, that they may hereafter understand upon what foundation their title is

built, and endeavour (and that without scruple) by all lawful means to enjoy and defend it."

He proceeds to consider the arguments of the "Coventry Letter," and the narrative of "The Sale and Settlement of Ireland," and begins by acknowledging that, "were I not *forced* to it, I should esteem it indecent to use the term 'Irish Rebellion' towards the arming of 1641." This is a remarkable confession, because it was always upon the fiction of that arming being a "Rebellion," that the Irish were not restored to their estates when the king was restored to his crown. However, the "Person of Honour," finding himself *forced* to treat the Irish confederation as a rebellion, proceeds to prove his case by a very safe, though not very conclusive process. He quotes the preambles of various acts of parliament, all which declare the war of the confederates to be a rebellion; and then he shows that an act of parliament must be taken to be the highest authority, — and therefore he concludes that the confederacy is demonstrated to be a rebellion. But not relying wholly upon this, he argues further, that the fact of the confederates having concluded a treaty of peace with Charles the First in 1648 is proof that they must have been at war with him, and if they were at war with the king, what could it be but a rebellion?

There are many other ingenious arguments in this essay which throw much light upon the state

of the question at that time between the proprietors in possession and the ex-proprietors of Irish estates. After the writer had proved that the confederates were rebels, he finds himself much embarrassed by the articles of the peace of 1648, by which they were received into the peace of the king, and all offences pardoned and forgiven. Upon this difficult part of the case the "Person of Honour" argues thus: "Many," he says, "of the confederates broke the peace," and therefore with respect to them, the king was not bound to regard it. And as to those of the confederates who did not break it, he contends that it was an unreasonable peace; "and being of such a nature as loyal subjects would never have required," the king ought not to be bound to observe it.

A few instances of what this writer considers such unreasonable terms as to discharge the king and government from all obligation to observe the peace they had made will further illustrate the spirit of those singular times. The first he mentions is, "article 12." of the peace, by which it was agreed, —

"That it should be left to both houses of parliament in Ireland to declare what they thought agreeable to the law of Ireland, concerning the independency of the law of Ireland upon the parliament of England."

The next very objectionable article the writer

states to be that in which the confederates stipulate; and it is declared, —

"That absentee noblemen, or British noblemen with Irish titles, should be restrained from voting in the Irish House of Peers" (except under certain qualifications).

A third objectionable article he considers to be that in which the confederates boldly declared by implication that "they would not rely upon the king's word." They stipulated, —

"That they would continue on foot an army of seventeen thousand five hundred men, and that all cities, towns, forts, and castles within their quarters, should continue in their possession until the articles were passed into acts of parliament."

These articles, this writer contends, were so extravagant and unreasonable, that the king must be considered as discharged from all obligation to observe the terms of the treaty solemnly made and ratified with the confederate Irish. And yet this is one of the ablest and most moderate of the innumerable "apologies" made at that time for the infraction of the treaty of 1648.

It is obvious why those articles gave so much offence to the Cromwellian writer. Their scope and object was to foster and support an Irish interest in Ireland. The confederates argued and stipulated as Irishmen. The Cromwellian argues as a foreigner, to whom an Irish interest

was odious. The Cromwellians had got Irish estates, but all their prejudices were anti-Irish. They supported all those restrictions and impositions of the British parliament upon the commerce of Ireland which were so injurious to their new country, without much knowledge of their principle or bearing, but from the pride and pleasure they felt in supporting whatever was directed against Ireland. Most of those men were in the reign of James not only possessors of Irish estates, but natives of Ireland. But they would shudder at the thought of being considered IRISHMEN; and took a strange delight in being the enemies, and as far as they could the oppressors, of the country of their birth and property. Strange as it may appear, much of this feeling has descended to our own times, and is not wholly worn out in the reign of the fourth George.

We learn from this writer that the Irish in Charles the First's reign contended strongly against the authority of the British parliament to bind Ireland, and insisted upon being bound by the acts of the Irish legislature only; and he charges this against them as a grievous offence: "His countrymen," he says (Nagle's), "not admitting, against all reason and precedents, that laws made in England bind Ireland." The Cromwellian writer is of course a stickler for this power. The Irish Catholics, whether of

British or Irish descent, uniformly protested against it. In the peace of 1648 they stipulate against this assumption of the British parliament; and afterwards, under James, we perceive them using the power they had acquired, the moment it fell into their hands, to declare and confirm the independence of the Irish legislature.

The Cromwellians, on the contrary, contended for the supremacy of the British parliament, and maintained that the interests of Ireland, of whatever nature, were to be considered as subordinate to those of England, and liable to be sacrificed to the supposed advantage or prejudices of that nation. They looked to England as the great protector of their recent acquisitions; and they were ready to make any sacrifice of their new country to ensure the safety of their new estates. It was not until time and full possession of power had calmed their apprehensions for the security of the "houses they had not built, and the vineyards they had not planted," that the flame of a new patriotism began to be kindled in their bosoms. Molleneux's little work was the first sparkle of that fire which at length burst forth amongst the Protestants of Ireland with such energy at the period of the American war, when Grattan constructed in its blaze the short-lived constitution of 1782; and furnished a glorious vindication of the Confederation of 1648 and the Parliament of 1689.

The great subject of debate at this period in Ireland was the "Act of Settlement." Every thing announced that James was preparing for the repeal of this famous statute; and the Cromwellians no longer resting their title upon power were busy making out an equitable right to their lands. Their best title, however, was their possession, which was now of forty years' continuance, though it had not been a quiet or an undisputed one.

The soldiers and adventurers who disdained formerly any other title than their swords seemed disposed at present to rest their titles upon purchase. They contended that their lands had been assigned to them in lieu of pay, or of advances made to government.

In the accounts published by the Cromwellian proprietors at this period, the surface of Ireland was estimated at ten millions four hundred thousand Irish acres. Of these they counted that there were three millions of unprofitable land, consisting of wood and mountain, &c. Of the remaining seven millions four hundred thousand acres, two millions four hundred thousand were computed to have been in the hands of Protestant proprietors previous to the war of the confederation in 1641. At which period they estimated the Catholic property in land to be five millions of acres.

In 1653, when the Cromwellian war was an-

nounced by proclamation to have ceased, they state these five millions of acres to have been disposed of by the Cromwellian government as follows:

"Restored to Catholic proprietors, one hundred thousand acres.

"To catholic proprietors who proved *innocency* before Cromwell's commissioners at Loughrea and at Athlone, and were decreed restitution or compensation in the province of Connaught and the county of Clare, about seven hundred thousand acres.

"To the officers and soldiers who served in Ireland before the arrival of Cromwell in 1649, in Wicklow, Longford, Leitrim, Donnegal, and between the sea and the Shannon, about four hundred thousand acres.

"To the adventurers who advanced money under the acts of the 17th and 18th of Charles the First 'to carry on the war in Ireland,' about eight hundred thousand acres.

"To the soldiers and officers who served under Cromwell from his arrival in Ireland in 1649 to the year 1653, when the war was declared to be at an end, two millions of acres.

"To several individuals, favourites of Cromwell, &c. &c., about one hundred thousand acres.

"Retained in the hands of government for its own use, but set to British Protestants upon

profitable leases in the counties of Dublin, Louth, Cork, Cavan, and Kildare, about eight hundred thousand acres, besides a considerable number of houses in the cities and walled towns."

This last item of eight hundred thousand acres, there is reason to believe, was intended by Cromwell for his own private share of the spoil.

From the whole account it appears that there remained at the peace of 1653 in the hands of the original Irish proprietors, of the whole soil of Ireland, eight hundred thousand acres. The remainder of the island, or, according to the computation, nine millions six hundred thousand acres, were transferred to new proprietors; two millions and a half nearly of this quantity being the produce of former confiscations, chiefly in the reign of Elizabeth.

The *consideration* given for those extensive grants is contained in two accounts published at the time by the Cromwellians themselves, one referring to soldiers' pay, the other to loans made by "the Adventurers" to the state.

"By an account settled in 1649, and including the eight previous years, there appeared to be due to the officers and soldiers of the king's army on account of pay a sum of eighteen hundred thousand pounds.

"By another account taken from 1649 to 1653, the conclusion of the Cromwellian war,

there appeared due to the officers and soldiers of Cromwell's army, a sum of 1,200,000*l.* From these accounts one fourth was to be deducted for quarters and provisions. Another deduction was to be made for a small advance of money, made on settling the accounts; the remainder was satisfied in lands."

By an account settled with the money lenders, and "Adventurers" in 1655 and 1656, it appeared that those persons advanced to government in 1641 and 1642, in expectation of Irish forfeitures to be assigned to them in repayment, a sum of about 400,000*l.* which, with the interest, was satisfied in lands.

These accounts of money due, both to soldiers and adventurers, there is reason to believe, were grossly over-stated. The whole sum, however, makes a debt considerably less than two millions, which was discharged by a transfer of lands, to the amount of seven millions of acres.

In 1641, at the breaking out of the war of the confederation, the average price of land in Ireland was about four shillings an acre, and twelve years' purchase. In 1653, at the close of the Cromwellian war, when the country was completely a desert, the value of land was estimated at less than one shilling per acre, and eight years' purchase. In ten years after, lands were valued at two shillings an acre, and ten years' purchase; and towards the close of Charles

the Second's reign, they recovered their value of four shillings the acre, and twelve years' purchase.

At one shilling an acre, the lands transferred to the Cromwellians would have been worth nearly four millions in money. The sum, with all exaggerations, due to them, was little over a million and a half. But if estimated at their value at the breaking out of the war, which was the fair rate of computation, as the reduction in price was owing to the desolation committed by the soldiers themselves, their value would have been about sixteen millions.

The number of Cromwellian refugees in England and Holland increased every day, and became at length so considerable, that they thought it necessary to make some apologies to the world for the panic which had seized them, and the burden they had become to the community abroad.

On the twenty-third of October, 1689, the anniversary of the rising of the Irish in the great war of the confederation, and appointed by parliament to be observed as a day of thanksgiving for the deliverance of the Protestants "from the bloody massacre and rebellion of the Irish papists," a sermon was preached to the Cromwellian refugees in London, at St. Mary Le Bow, in Cheapside, by His Grace the Archbishop of Tuam, at which the Lord

Mayor, Sheriffs, and Corporation of London attended. The sermon was published by the bishop, and dedicated to "The Right Hon. Sir T. Pilkinton, Lord Mayor of London." From the tenor of this discourse, it is evident that the preacher was fully aware of the negotiations then pending with the Prince of Orange, for the invasion of England. He took his text from Psalm cii. ver. 13. "Thou shalt arise and have mercy upon Sion, for the time to favour her, yea the set time, is come." With a confident spirit of prophecy he promises his congregation a speedy termination of their sufferings, and restoration to their homes, and assures them they will not always be a burden to benevolent strangers; to the latter he excuses his countrymen, for having abandoned their homes, and become a burden upon their charity; and he instances the mistake of Job's friends who supposed, "because he was miserable, that therefore he was guilty."

In the same spirit a number of pamphlets were published by the refugees themselves, to prove that their flight was unavoidable, and that it was even useful to the general cause of the Protestants. "We could bear," said the writer of one of those tracts, entitled 'A Second Apology for the Protestants of Ireland,' — "we could bear the taunts and reproaches of our enemies the Papists, — but that any Protestants of Eng-

land, whom the ligaments of the same religion and blood have inseparably conjoined to our interest, should discover not only an insensibility to our miseries, but aggravate them by *misprision* and contempt, not only arraign our actions, but misjudge our sufferings, is a contemplation so abstruse and so grievous, that it would require the wisdom of Solomon to understand it, and the patience of Job to bear it. Yet all this is outdone by a more sensible stroke of misfortune. We are upbraided with the king's indifference towards us (to give it no worse a name); and because, for reasons and considerations best known to himself, he hath thought it fit to command the services of strangers and foreigners, while the gentlemen of Ireland walk the streets neglected and unemployed, it is maliciously imputed to his dislike of their proceedings, as if unconstrained, and out of pure wantonness they had left their own country to take the air in this; — deserted the conveniency of a cheap dwelling at home, to pay dear for lodgings in London; given up their stock of wealth to the lust of their enemies, only to make experiment of the mercy of their friends; cast off the homage of tenants, and trifled away their own revenue, only to become pensioners to the poor man's box and the brief money." London: printed for Tim. Godwin, at the Maidenhead in Fleet Street, 1690.

No painting of ours could exhibit the striking

outline, which is here drawn by one of themselves of the condition of the Protestant refugees at this period, suffering as they were under the contempt, though existing by the compassion of the people of England. The bold spirit of their fathers seems to have departed from them, and they never afterwards did any thing worthy of the ancient renown of the "Levellers."

We do not find the Catholic refugees, though at various times scattered over Europe, making those plaints or practising this mendicancy. They took swords and muskets at once in the service of foreign powers; or applied themselves to pursuits of commerce in the cities of France and Spain. In comparing the conduct of the Irish and Cromwellian refugees, it is remarkable of the former with what readiness they were in the habit of abandoning their country and estates. Cromwell found little difficulty in inducing them to transport themselves to the Continent; and when his army in Ireland hardly exceeded ten thousand men, forty thousand Irish troops abandoned their own cause as hopeless, and entered into foreign service. The same occurred in the reign of Elizabeth, though not in so remarkable a degree; and again, under William, an Irish army, more numerous than his, surrendered upon terms of being sent to the Continent. The Cromwellians, on the contrary, having once got possession of the rich lands of

Ireland, struggled hard to keep them; and in good or evil fortune never relinquished their hold. Their firmness proved that they deserved them.

The States of Holland had not been inattentive to what was passing in Ireland. They had from time to time kept alive the spirit of the Protestants in that country by important succours. One ship is mentioned at this period as having arrived from Holland, containing stores and provisions for the Protestants, to the value of thirty thousand pounds. France was not less mindful of the critical state of Ireland, then well known all over Europe from the reports of the Irish of both sides, who were every where dispersed. William had his agents in every part of the country; so also had Lewis. William, like Cromwell, took a straight-forward and masterly view of the case. He saw that, without a sure footing in Ireland, his meditated hold of England would be insecure. The policy of Lewis was crooked, wicked, and contemptible. His object in Ireland, as in Great Britain, was to distract and destroy the country, by exciting all parties to hostility, and feeding a perpetual and wasting warfare. If he had known how to have taken a direct course (very difficult for ordinary politicians), he could, with very small exertion, and with certainty of success, have given the victory to James in the war that was now preparing in Ireland,

and by that means have secured the triumph of France upon the Continent.

Lewis now governed England; James having sunk, in effect, into a mere viceroy of the court of France. The king was, from time to time, alarmed at the aspect of affairs, and hesitated as to the course he was pursuing. Sometimes he doubted the wisdom of continuing Tyrconnel in the lieutenancy of Ireland; but Lewis was peremptory. Whether he entertained the same opinion of this nobleman's imprudence and warmth of temper that James evidently did, and, therefore, thought him on that account a fit person to embroil and embarrass things further in Ireland, does not appear.

Tyrconnel, who understood the position of James in respect of Lewis, may be considered the lieutenant of the latter much more than of the former. He often received his instructions direct from Paris; and after William had possessed himself of England, Lewis amused the Irish lieutenant occasionally with vague notions of creating him king of Ireland, under the protection of France. Lewis's real object was to annex Ireland to the French crown, after he had first used it as a means of dividing and exhausting the force of his rival.

Tyrconnel does not appear to have been so unfit a person for the crisis as is generally thought. He was the arch-enemy of the Crom-

wellians, and his character has been unfairly drawn by them. He was an open enemy; hasty from temper, but candid, generous, and decided; he was a warm friend; and a brave soldier, as his conduct at Drogheda proved; and he was, in every respect, the reverse of the cold and subtle character of the Cromwellians. His close correspondence with the French court made him aware that William was seriously preparing an invasion of England. His measures upon this information were not unwise: he lost no time in enlisting and organising an army; and the conduct of these raw levies, when confronted afterwards with the best troops in Europe, proved that they were not ill prepared. It was not Tyrconnel that lost Ireland; it was James.

Like all sanguine characters, Tyrconnel seems sometimes to have had misgivings. His resolution faltered, though his courage did not. A man of more discretion and equal boldness might have steered the vessel of the state with more address, through the perilous navigation before her; but Tyrconnel's courage at such a moment was better than the hesitation of a more cautious man. Undoubtedly he was not equal to the great crisis which was approaching; but he was bold, popular, and decided; and if he had possessed but a larger share of prudence, he would have been every way fitted for the emergency. He is accused of violence, but his violence went

no further than the ordinary measures for giving a political ascendancy to his party. He procured, by the usual manœuvres, a Catholic majority in parliament. He promoted Catholic lawyers to the bench and at the bar; but few that did not well deserve it. He enlisted Catholic soldiers, and gave commissions to Catholic officers. He nominated Catholic sheriffs, procured the admission of Catholics into corporations, and appointed Catholic governors of counties. He was a partisan, but not a bad man.

It has been surmised of Tyrconnel that he owed his high appointment to a bribe bestowed upon Sunderland; and it is likely enough that no considerable appointment could take place without the proper fees to that corrupt minister. But the favour which Tyrconnel enjoyed with James and Lewis is enough to account for his advancement. He is accused also of having proposed to assassinate Cromwell; and, afterwards, when disease did execution upon that great and bad man, he is reported to have threatened to turn his dagger upon the Duke of Ormond. It is impossible to give any credit to stories so absurd. His challenging Ormond, and Ormond's refusal to fight, is no confirmation of his entertaining a design to assassinate him.

Tyrconnel, after the example of his master, was soon involved in a war with the corporations and the university. His predecessor Clarendon

had received instructions from James to provide for the admission of Catholics into the corporations; but Clarendon on this and other occasions had the meanness to retain office and to evade obedience to his instructions. Tyrconnel was as precipitate as Clarendon was slow. Dublin being found refractory was deprived of its charter; and James rejected the petition of the corporation against this arbitrary proceeding, though presented by the recorder and the Duke of Ormond.

Other corporations were treated in the same manner, or were prevailed upon to surrender their charters. In the new corporations two thirds were appointed to be Catholics and one third Protestant. The only justification, and a very bad one, which can be suggested for those proceedings of the viceroy, is, that the Catholics had been expelled the corporations in exactly the same manner when the Protestants were in power, and that no Catholics whatever were then admitted, so that Tyrconnel had precedent for much more than he attempted.

He could, indeed, plead the same justification for all his other proceedings against the Protestants. In all those cases not only the same course had been held towards the Catholics in times of protestant predominancy, but, generally, much more severity had been used. There was a penal code existing against the Catholics from

Elizabeth's reign. But though in the reign of Mary, Charles the First, and James the Second, the Catholics were predominant in Ireland, there never existed in that country a penal code against Protestants. On several occasions, as now under Tyrconnel, the Catholics gave their own religion the preference. But they made no law excluding their Protestant countrymen; a singular instance of moderation in a religion that seems almost to sanction persecution — while the whole history of Protestantism in Ireland is, in theory, liberty, — in practice, intolerance.

James himself undertook the dispute with the university; and as he seldom undertook any thing which he did not mismanage, so on this occasion he made several mistakes. The king's mandate was presented to the university, ordering them to admit a Roman Catholic to the professorship of the Irish language. But, to the disgrace of the college, there was no such professorship upon the foundation. It was a natural mistake of the king, and he ought to be acquitted in this instance. He thought better of the college than it deserved. He did not know that the university had undertaken to instruct the people in Protestantism, but had forgotten to learn their language. That learned body made the same blunder which Goldsmith did when he undertook to teach the Hollanders English, without first learning Dutch. Goldsmith, how-

ever, soon discovered his mistake, but the Dublin university never found out theirs.

Disappointed as to the professorship, the king commanded that a person of the name of Doyle should be admitted to a fellowship, "taking only the oath of a fellow." Doyle was a Catholic. Here another mistake occurred. The oath of a fellow included, according to the custom of the college, the oath of supremacy. Doyle refused to take it; and the king was again foiled. It was odd enough that the oath which recognised the king as head of the Protestant church should be insisted upon by Protestants, who knew the king to be a Catholic, professing openly, and glorying in, his religion.

Those attempts of the king to force open the college-gates to the Catholics created great alarm in that body. In their terror they resolved to convert the college-plate into money, for the purpose, as they pretended, of "erecting new buildings, and purchasing new lands." No one was deceived by this absurd pretence for an act so violent as the sale of the public plate of the college. Tyrconnel seized the plate after it had been sold, and deposited it in the king's stores; and was proceeding with great anger against the college and the purchaser, when Nagle the attorney-general interfered, and extricated the parties. The heads of the college can only be excused for this attempt to convert the college-

plate to their private use, by considering that they were alarmed to that degree which frequently has the effect of confounding all distinct notions of the laws of property.

The college addressed the king; declaring boldly their steady adherence to their religion, but professing at the same time an unalterable attachment to the throne. It was the language of the English universities; and was much more creditable to those learned bodies than the addresses, in which, in the early period of his reign, they cheered the king in his unconstitutional attempts upon the liberties of his subjects. It was manly and honest language, and almost redeemed the attempt which the addressers had so lately made upon the college-plate.

About this period the Cromwellians made another attempt to obtain from James a public declaration that he did not intend to alter or change the "Act of Settlement." Their application met with a direct and positive refusal. On the other hand, the Catholics attacked the foundation of the act with much ingenuity. Chief-baron Rice and the Attorney-general Nagle, both distinguished lawyers, and men of great ability, drew up "Heads of a Bill" for the approbation of the privy council in England, to be afterwards submitted to the Irish parliament according to the provisions of "Poyning's Law." The bill professed to do no more for the Catholics

than what, according to the severest rules of justice, they were entitled to. It provided "that those Catholics who had been declared innocent by the Court of Claims, and were, therefore, entitled, by former acts of parliament, to be restored to their estates, or indemnified, should be restored or indemnified accordingly; and if there were any that had not already had justice done them," it provided further, "that a new commission should issue for hearing and deciding upon such claims as had not yet been heard, for want of time or other cause, without fault of the parties."

This was no more than what mere justice required; but even this measure of justice would have been fatal to the Cromwellian interest; and, if executed fairly, would have deprived the settlers of almost every foot of land in Ireland. The proposition was warmly supported by the king, who saw no more perhaps than its fairness and justice, and was probably little aware of the power or extent of its operation. Not so the Cromwellians: they were alive to the full import of those just and equitable propositions, and they exerted themselves with their usual activity to ward off the blow.

The Lord Chief-baron Rice and the Chief-justice Nugent were sent to London as a deputation from the Catholics to support the new bill, when it should come to be discussed before the

privy council. The Catholics had been anxious to leave the matter solely in the hands of Rice; but Nugent, with the officiousness of incapacity, had forced himself upon the deputation. He was a weak, meddling person. The council heard Chief-baron Rice at great length in support of the bill, and found themselves in the awkward predicament of men who could not resist the argument, but were determined against the measure. From this embarrassment they were relieved by Nugent, whose folly becoming apparent as soon as he began to speak, afforded the council the pretence they were anxiously looking for. A clamour was raised, and the bill was rejected.

The Catholics in the council had joined as eagerly in this rejection as the Protestants. They had taken alarm at the tumult which had been excited in the city by the multitude of Cromwellian refugees; who having due notice of the proceedings of the deputation had acted their parts well. The most vigorous efforts were made to rouse and excite the mob of London, and not without some success. The horrors of *Irishry*, and the abominations of popery, were set forth in placards, and by means of emissaries sent through the town; and the dreadful designs of the Irish deputation upon the religion and liberties of England were painted in glowing colours. Mobs were collected

who assailed the deputation with hisses and reproaches in their way to and from the council; and when their ill success was known, the populace in scorn carried potatoes elevated upon poles before them, crying out as they went along, "Room for the Irish ambassadors."

The Catholics of the council, upon whom the deputation relied, had listened to the suggestions of their own fears, and the whispers of the Cromwellian party; "that they might endanger their own estates in trying to restore those of the Irish;" they were alarmed at the appearances in England — the popular excitement, the imprudence and incapacity of the king, and the preparations of the Prince of Orange, hardly now a secret to any one but the king himself.

Sunderland, we are informed, claimed the merit of this defeat of the deputation; and declared that he rejected a bribe of 40,000*l.* to carry the measure. It is more probable that he failed in carrying it than that he refused the bribe; and still more likely that he took a higher bribe on the other side; or took both, and left the project to its fate, his conscience being equally balanced in regard of it.

CHAP. XXIV.

FLIGHT OF JAMES FROM ENGLAND.

THE birth of a Prince of Wales was a subject of general joy to the Catholics of Ireland, as it was of sorrow and dismay to the Protestants. The latter had always looked forward to the succession of Mary, the wife of the Prince of Orange, as a relief from all their troubles, and a re-establishment of their declining interest. The former contemplated the same succession as the ruin of their hopes. As the queen had not had a child for many years, the Catholics considered the birth of a Prince as almost a miraculous interposition of Providence in their favour. It is a remarkable instance of the vanity of human hopes and fears, that the birth of this Prince undoubtedly hastened, if it did not occasion, the ruin of the Catholic cause, and established the triumph of the Protestant interest upon a solid foundation.

William had been long solicited to attempt the crown of England. Powerful parties from every quarter of the three kingdoms held out their hands to him, and urged him to the enter-

prise. But his succession by lawful means, was almost certain. James was advanced in years, and had no son. What motive, then, could he have to incur the odium of attacking his wife's father, an old man, the last of a long line of princes, and driving him, by violence and bloodshed, from the throne of his ancestors? What, if he were to fail in the attempt? Would not the world pronounce that it was a just judgment upon a wicked deed? And if he succeeded, would he not set an example of guilty disobedience, which might thereafter return upon himself? — merely to anticipate by a few years, the possession of a crown, which, in a short period, would be presented to him by the hand of Heaven? These motives probably weighed with William to dissuade him from an attempt which ambition and his immediate interests prompted.

His immediate interest urged him strongly to the enterprise against James. The United States were sinking under the pressure of the war with France. James and Charles had been the pensioners of that power, and had thrown the weight of England into the scale that pressed so heavily upon the fortunes of Holland. William's enmity to Lewis was almost personal, and excessive. He owed little to James, who, instead of sustaining him as a father in his extremity, or consulting the interests of his own kingdom, made common cause with the foes of England and the enemies of his son-in-law.

The latter considerations probably balanced the former; and both kept William in suspense, till the birth of a prince turned the scale. It was not merely the crown of England that was now to be contended for. The safety of his throne in Holland required that he should use the opportunity that offered, to seize upon the government of England, and cover the republic with that power which was now substantially directed against her. Without the aid of Britain he could not hope to sustain the contest with France: and if he omitted the present season, the claims of the young prince would gather strength, and exclude him for ever.

This is the apology which must be made for William. That some apology was necessary there is no doubt. As a private individual he cannot be justified for what he did. As a prince at the head of the Dutch nation, he could perhaps hardly be excused if he did not attempt it. His public duty required perhaps the sacrifice of private obligation.

William affected to believe that the young prince was a supposititious child, brought forward with intent to exclude his wife from the inheritance. This notion was also industriously spread amongst the public, by the partizans of the prince in England. The friends of the revolution must regret that recourse was had to so poor an artifice. It was no doubt intended only for the

crowd, whose prejudices are to be managed even when they are to be served; as medicine is administered to children in sweetmeats. A blind admiration for the privileges of birth is one of the chief characteristics of the lower classes of the people, and useful as it is, (and for which perhaps it was implanted in human nature,) in fixing securely the basis of authority, it is a quality which requires to be managed with much address in those great crises, when nations prepare themselves to cast the slough of old and worn out despotisms.

William had long been intriguing; and feeling his way in England and Ireland; he now thought it necessary to act openly. He published a declaration addressed to the British nations, on the 10th of October, 1688, dated from the Hague. In this manifesto he details the grievances which the Protestants in England and Ireland complained of; and which he alleges to amount to a despotic power assumed by the king; — his dispensing with the laws against Papists, and other laws; permitting the erection of monasteries, colleges of Jesuits, and other Popish houses, "for the corrupting the youth of the nation." He promises to call a FREE parliament without delay for the settlement of those matters; and to this parliament he proposes to leave also the question of the birth of the "pretended Prince of Wales."

The 26th article of the declaration states, that "we will also study to bring the kingdom of Ireland to such a state that the *settlement* there may be religiously observed, and that the Protestant and British interest may be secured."

On the thirtieth of the month of June, previous to this declaration, William had been formally invited to England by seven noblemen and gentlemen assembled at the house of the Earl of Shrewsbury. A written instrument was drawn up and signed by the Lords Devonshire, Danby, Shrewsbury, Lumbly, the Bishop of London, Russel and Sidney. It stated the motives and necessity for William's immediate appearance in England at the head of an army; and pointed out some important ill consequences which must result from delay. These lords and gentlemen were in communication with Zuylestein the Dutch Ambassador, who had been sent over ostensibly to congratulate the king on the birth of his son, but really to assist in preparing the plot, which was to be built upon a denial of the young prince's birth and title.

The king's son had been prayed for in the prince's chapel at the Hague; but when it was settled that his birth was to be disputed, the prayers were ordered to be discontinued. The king, on being informed of this circumstance, remonstrated, through the British Ambassador; and the Princess Mary, so celebrated for her *piety*,

condescended to write to her father "that they had never been *properly* discontinued, but only sometimes forgot." It must be admitted, that the statement of the princess to her father was not *properly* the truth, and that upon this occasion she forgot her piety.

The publication of the prince's declaration alarmed the king. He at length began to open his eyes to the danger that threatened him; and his first movement was to retrace his steps. He restored the charter of the city of London. He made friends with the bishop, and with Magdalen college; and he succeeded in alarming William in his turn, lest those measures should win upon the nation, still attached to its king and willing to be reconciled. In his fright William published a second declaration, setting forth the faithlessness of his father-in-law, and the little dependance that was to be placed upon his promises, or present good conduct. The nation reaped the glorious result of William's enterprise; but undoubtedly the prince and his wife gathered neither honor or credit in the transaction. Towards their unhappy and almost contemptible parent, their plot was disgusting in its outset, and cruel in its progress and accomplishment.

On the 5th of November, 1688, the prince landed at Torbay. He had encountered various disasters and disappointments in his voyage,

but he did not encounter the British fleet which might have been the greatest calamity of all; nor does it appear that the British admiral had any inclination to encounter him. There is no doubt that Dartmouth, who commanded the English fleet, could have intercepted and defeated the expedition; but he chose not to meet with it. This admiral was one of the few who were under particular obligations to James. The first blow, therefore, struck against the king, was an instance of that ingratitude for which the Stuarts themselves were so remarkable; and which they left so little room, generally, to exercise towards themselves.

After William landed, the nation paused. People waited for events; and few joined him. It was a critical moment; the country hesitated to plunge into a civil war. The conspiracy managed with William had been confined to a few in the upper ranks of society; the mass of the population had not been greatly excited, and were still attached to the king, and averse from foreign interference.

William waited; but after a while the spirits of the Dutch prince, though not easily depressed, began to sink, and he talked of re-embarking his army and returning to Holland. With a little courage and activity James might now have retrieved his affairs. The army were still faithful, and were eager to be led against the

enemy. The eyes of the political speculators were anxiously fixed upon the king; they were now to read their fortunes in his countenance, and to take their places in the drama that was about to be acted, according to the spirit or prudence he might display. They were soon convinced that James was lost; and that fate, or fortune, or the fidelity of his army, or people, would in vain attempt to save him. The king was all terror and dismay; he ordered nothing; or what he ordered he immediately countermanded. The means at his disposal were useless in his hands. Even the talent and intrepidity of Dundee could not serve the miserable prince to whom he was so devoted. There was no longer any hesitation amongst that large portion of the friends of the revolution who were still more friendly to their own interests.

Numbers of the higher classes now flocked to the standard of the Dutch prince. In the middle and lower classes, the people were almost passive, except, perhaps, in London, and some other towns, where they had been excited by the efforts of the clergy and the bugbear of popery. Even in London there were, at times, some relentings of the populace, and more than one opportunity was presented to the pusillanimous king to retrieve his fortunes and expel the invader.

There is something exceedingly revolting in

the heartlessness and inhumanity with which the old man was deserted by his most intimate and trusted friends. Bad as the world is, and selfish and cold as is the region of politics, James himself must divide the blame. He seems to have been incapable of attaching any one. His gifts called forth no gratitude, and his affection excited no love. He was, as it were, alone in the world. In the crowd that surrounded his throne no heart ever responded to his. Cold, cruel, mean, selfish, timid, he could excite no sympathy, and purchase no esteem. His attachment to the Catholic worship was the only bond that united James with any portion of his species; but in this attachment there was little of the spirit of religion, which requires feeling and purity of heart; it was a sterile bigotry, calculated to injure the very creed to which it fastened itself like a blur, and for which even the pope himself expressed aversion and contempt.

Yet the last scenes of the king's expulsion from England were pitiful. James was still capable of feeling the bitterness of being abandoned by all the world. When it was determined to practise upon his fears, and force him into flight by hardships and indignity, it is impossible not to feel compassion for the man who felt for no one. His attempt to escape to France in an open boat, his capture by a few

fishermen, his return to London, his rude expulsion from Whitehall, and, finally, his ignominious flight from Rochester; — all these excite our commiseration.

James, when he returned to London, after his first attempt to leave the kingdom, was surprised and flattered by being received with shouts of applause, and tears of joy, by the populace of the great city that had a few days before indulged in the most riotous excesses against his religion and authority. The populace do not reason, they only feel; and this return of kindness towards the king was a natural feeling, and presented him, once more, with an opportunity to retrieve his fortune, if he had known how to use it.

The Revolution was not popular. It was decidedly, and almost solely, aristocratic. It was the work of a few great families, who, having acquired large estates of the spoil of the church domains, feared that James's bigotry to the Roman worship would endanger their possessions. With these were associated many who considered that the king had not capacity to keep the crown upon his head, and that the intrigues and fortune of the Prince of Orange must ultimately prevail to strip him of his dignity and authority. Beside the latter class of enemies, James attracted the hostility of all the real lovers of liberty and their country. These were few,

but they served to give grace and dignity to the cause, and were the most formidable, because they were honest adversaries.

But spite of all his errors and offences the vast majority of the people were with James; and if he had known how to use them, the universe could not have shaken the foundations of his throne. The army also was with him, spite of the treason of their officers. The troops received the orders to retreat from Salisbury with rage and indignation. It was one of the strangest spectacles the world had ever witnessed, to observe a king abandoning a faithful army, superior in numbers to that opposed to them, and certain to be victorious; and throwing away his crown and kingdom in mere causeless panic.

The landing of William in England, and the events that followed, created a powerful sensation in Ireland. The Catholics were thrown into violent agitation. The Protestants recovered from their long depression. Both took arms. And the whole nation rose almost *en masse*. The Catholics felt that they had now to fight for property, liberty, and life. After the conclusion of the Cromwellian war, the most distinguished of their countrymen, who had supported the cause of Charles, suffered death upon the scaffold as common malefactors; and the entire proprietary of the kingdom underwent

the sentence of transportation and beggary. This lesson was before them now.

The movements amongst the Irish excited the utmost alarm in the Cromwellian population throughout the kingdom. Reports were spread that a general massacre was to take place of all Protestants, preparatory to the war which was at hand. Such reports were common in Ireland, and were often employed to excite, or to excuse, barbarities against the Catholics, similar to what were rumoured to be intended by them. They were, however, sometimes the effect of mere terror.

The uproar in Dublin was excessive; and exceeded even what occurred on the departure of Clarendon. Multitudes ran to the sea shore and filled every ship, entreating to be saved from the daggers of the Irish. From all parts of the country the Protestants crowded into the towns, and thought themselves hardly safe within the walls.

The town of Derry, upon the banks of Lough Foyle, became the refuge of the Protestant population of the north. The inhabitants of Derry received the fugitives, and the news of the intended massacre, at the same moment. The frightful story, and the trembling and miserable wretches who brought it, spread universal dismay through the town. The inhabitants were assembled in groups in the streets, debating

anxiously upon the fate that awaited the devoted Protestants of Ireland, when a regiment of Irish infantry appeared suddenly beyond their walls, marching directly towards the city. Fear exaggerated the numbers, and even the size of the soldiers — they were represented as of a height and fierceness, even beyond what nature has ever bestowed upon Irish grenadiers. The alarmed citizens considered them as sent by Tyrconnel the popish Lord Lieutenant, to execute the sentence of general massacre, which had been pronounced upon the whole Protestant population of Ireland. Under this impression they closed their gates, more in terror than in bravery; and thus commenced the celebrated siege of Derry.

The closing of the gates had been resisted by the older and more respectable portion of the citizens of Derry. It was the work of a few hot-headed and inconsiderate young men, and of some of the lowest rabble: and nothing certainly could be more unlucky for the comfort and happiness of the then population of Derry, than this hasty proceeding, or more fortunate for the general cause of the Cromwellians, then in great peril. Two thirds of the inhabitants perished in the siege, victims of famine, misery, and disease; and few of the survivors ever recovered the dreadful effects of that struggle.

Tyrconnel had withdrawn the garrison of

Derry, to reinforce James's useless army in England, on the first rumour of William's invasion; and, after a while, had sent Lord Antrim's regiment to replace it. It was this regiment whose appearance outside the walls, at a critical moment, produced such an effect upon the fears of the citizens.

Enniskillen, like Derry, a Protestant settlement in the county of Fermanagh, followed the example of the other town, and closed its gates against an Irish garrison. The Protestants of the north took courage from those bold proceedings, and formed various armed associations, which, in the progress of the war, became famous under the general designation of Enniskilleners, and Derrymen.

Tyrconnel felt he had done wrong in weakening the army of Ireland. His detachment had been of no use to James, who had not courage to employ them. Dundee alone turned his Irish auxiliaries to account. But the fame they acquired under that gallant commander, in vain and useless victories in Scotland, was poor compensation for their loss in the present emergency. Dundee, writing to James of those new levies, says, "that they behaved themselves with equal gallantry to whatever he had seen in the hottest battles fought abroad by disciplined armies," and he begs for "such another detachment of the Irish army."

Tyrconnel appears to have been alarmed by the arming in the north; and frightened by the events which had just occurred in England. It hardly required the re-action of a sanguine character, like his, to despair of a prosperous issue to the contest which was impending in Ireland; after the pusillanimous part which James had just played in the other island. While in this temper some overtures were made to him on the part of William, and were so favourably received, that the prince was induced to send General Hamilton, then a prisoner in his custody, to conclude the negotiations thus happily commenced.

Hamilton professed the utmost desire to promote an accommodation between William and James's Irish subjects; but in this he was not sincere; his only object being to obtain his liberty. He had been made a prisoner by William, contrary to his proclamation, and to the practice which had been observed towards James's officers, and he took ample revenge in the stratagem by which he obtained his release; but not without some imputation upon his own honour.

Hamilton had no sooner arrived in Ireland than he used all his influence with Tyrconnel to break off his negotiation with William. The earl was easily brought back to his original and natural attachment to James and the Catholic

cause. He entered into Hamilton's views and feelings, and was soon persuaded that all was not lost, and that with the means which Ireland possessed, and the powerful aid of France, if England could not be recovered, Ireland at least might be secured, and the Catholic interest firmly established in it. These arguments, supported as they were by William's declaration, touching the Protestant interest, and the Act of Settlement, confirmed Tyrconnel in his resolution of a vigorous and determined prosecution of the war.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

TREATY BETWEEN HENRY AND RODERICK.

The Treaty or Articles of Windsor.

" Hic est finis et concordia quæ facta fuit apud Windesore, in octabis Sancti Michaelis anno Gratiæ 1177, inter Dominum Regem Angliæ Henricum Secundum, et Rodericum Regem Conaciæ per Catholicum Tuamensem Archiepiscopum et Abbatem C. Sancti Brandani, et Magistrum Laurentium cancellarium Regis Conaciæ.

" 1mo. Quod Rex Angliæ concedit prædicto Roderico, ligeo homini suo Regnum Conaciæ, quamdiu ei fideliter serviet, ut sit Rex sub eo, paratus ad servitium suum, sicut homo suus; et ut teneat terram suam, ita bene, et in pace sicut tenuit antequam Dominus Rex Angliæ intravit Hiberniam, reddendo ei tributum: et totam illam terram et habitatores terræ habeat sub se; et justitiæ ut tributum Regi Angliæ integre persolvant, et per manum ejus sua jura sibi conservent, et illi qui modo tenent, teneant in pace, quamdiu manserint in fidelitate Regi Angliæ; et fideliter et integre persolverint tributum et alia jura sua, quæ ei debent, per

manum Regis Conaciæ; salvo in omnibus jure et honore Domini Regis Angliæ et suo.

" 2do. Et siqui ex eis Regi Angliæ, et ei rebelles fuerint, et tributum et alia jura Regis Angliæ, per manum ejus solvere noluerint, et a fidelitate Regis Angliæ recesserint, ipse eos justitiet et amoveat, et si eos per se injustiare non poterit, constabularius Regis Angliæ et familia sua de terrâ illâ juvabunt eum ad hoc faciendum, cum ab ipso fuerint requisiti, et ipsi viderint quod necesse fuerit, et propter hunc finem reddet prædictus Rex Conaciæ Domini Regi Angliæ tributum singulis annis, scilicet, de singulis decem animalibus unum corium placabile mercatoribus, tam de totâ terrâ suâ, quam de alienâ.

" 3o. Excepto quod de terris illis, quas Dominus Rex Angliæ retinuit in dominio suo, et in dominio Baronum suorum, nihil se intromittet; scilicet Durelina cum pertinentiis suis, sicut unquam Murchait, Warnai, Lethlachlin eam melius et plenius tenuit, aut aliqui qui eam de eo tenuerint. Et exceptâ Wexfordiâ, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis; scilicet, cum totâ Lageniâ, et exceptâ Waterfordia usque ad Dungarvan, ita ut Dungarvan sit, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis infra terram illam.

" 4to. Et si Hibernensis illi qui aufugerint, redire voluerint ad terram Baronum Regis Angliæ, redeant in pace, reddendo tributum prædictum quod alii reddunt, vel faciendo antiqua servitia, qua facere solebant pro terris suis; et hoc sit in arbitrio Dominorum suorum; et si aliqui eorum redire noluerint Domini eorum et Rex Conaciæ accipiat obsides, omnibus quos ei commisit Dominus Rex Angliæ, ad voluntatem Domini Regis et suam, et ipse dabit obsides ad voluntatem Domini Regis Angliæ illos vel alios; et ipsi servient Domino de canibus et avibus suis singulis annis de pertinentiis suis, et nullum omnino de quâcumque terrâ

Regis sit, retinebunt contra voluntatem Domini Regis. His testibus Richardo Episcopo Wintoniæ, Gaufrido Episcopo Eliensi, Laurentio Duveliensi Archiepiscopo, Gaufrido, Nicholas et Rogero Capellanis Regis, Gulielmo Comite Essexii, et aliis multis," etc.

No. II.

"LEINSTER, divided into several inferior principalities, as that of Ossory, Decies, and the septs of Ostmen, formed of the remains of the Danes, and other foreigners, seated principally in Dublin and Waterford, and governed generally by their own chieftains, gave the title of royalty to Dermod, surnamed Mac-Murchad, a prince represented by his countrymen in the most odious colours: and although his vices have been evidently exaggerated, yet even in an age and country of rudeness, he appears to have been distinguished by a rude, fierce, turbulent, and oppressive spirit. His father had governed Leinster with a tyrannical severity. Seventeen of his dependent lords, we are assured, were either capitally executed, or lost their eyes by his cruelty, within one year: and Dermod, with his principality, inherited too great a portion of the same temper. His stature, and bodily strength, together with a boisterous valour, had rendered him the admiration of all the inferior orders of his subjects: and these, as the proper instruments of his ambition, he was careful to protect and favour. His donations and endowments of religious houses recommended him to the clergy; but his tributary chieftains felt the full weight of his pride and tyranny.

To them his government was odious; so that in his attachments to the reigning factions of the island, he was without principle or steadiness, determined to that side which, for the present time, seemed most likely to support him.

" The chief competitors for the rank of monarch of Ireland, were the heirs of the two houses, of O'Connor, and the northern Hi-Nial. Of these, Torlogh O'Connor was in possession [a], and though not generally recognised, and opposed especially by his northern rival O'Lochlan, he yet maintained his state with magnificence, and supported his title with sufficient vigour. A decisive victory gained over the forces of O'Brien encreased his renown, but served at the same time to awaken the jealousy of his rival; who, in a general convention of the states, obliged him to consent to a tacit partition of authority, by which O'Lochlan was left sovereign of the northern province; and such dispositions were to be made in other districts as their joint interests might require. Such treaties between two superiors generally ended in a design dictated by some irregular passion, and executed against the peace and welfare of their neighbours. It was soon resolved to transfer the territory of O'Ruarc to a more favourite partisan; and the expedition was undertaken by the Connaught and the Leinster princes. O'Ruarc was surprised, defeated, and driven from his dominions. He had married the daughter of the prince of Meath, a lady distinguished by her beauty, but of a gay and amorous disposition. She had inspired the king of Leinster with an unlawful passion, and enflamed it by the freedom of her deport-

" [a] The Irish annalists have a particular name for a monarch thus circumstanced; and which they apply to Turlogh. They call him *Righ go Fresaura, King with reluctance*, i. e. monarch who had not his authority recognized in all the provinces.

ment; and if the present expedition had not been secretly contrived or fomented for the purposes of his adulterous love, Dermod at least resolved to take advantage of the distresses of her husband, and to possess himself of Dervorghal, (so the lady was called.) By the assistance of a base brother she was conveyed to his arms, and with an affected reluctance carried off in triumph into his own province. [b]

"An outrage of this kind was not always regarded by the Irish with abhorrence; they considered it rather as an act of pardonable gallantry, or such an offence at most as a reasonable pecuniary compensation might

"[b] Giraldus assigns this incident as the immediate cause of the expulsion of Dermod, and the first English invasion: and all the English historians have implicitly followed his authority. But the monk was neither a cautious examiner of the reports he heard in Ireland, nor an accurate enquirer into the true causes which opened the way to the successful progress of his countrymen. He came into Ireland with an apparent contempt of the country and its inhabitants; and that contracted mind which produced this contempt, made him satisfied with the reports of those who were of the same rank of understanding with himself. He asked the cause of that resentment which drove Dermod from his province. He was answered, that it arose from the seizure of O'Ruarc's wife: and he mistook the first rise of personal animosity between two chiefs, for the immediate occasion of the revenge executed against Dermod. But the Irish annalists are of authority in this case, if in any; and they uniformly agree that this outrage was committed full sixteen years before Fitz-Stephen was invited into Ireland. Dermod and O'Ruarc, during this period, had frequently contended with various success; and private injuries were apparently forgotten in the tumult of faction and public contention; till the death of his protector O'Lochlan left Dermod exposed to all the rage of his political as well as his personal enemies. The resentments of O'Ruarc might have revived upon a fair occasion; but their operation could not have been considerable, if the political attachments of Dermod had not been particularly offensive. It was the partizan of O'Lochlan who was pronounced unworthy to fill the throne of Leinster; not the ravisher of Dervorghal.

atone for. But the sullen and haughty Breffaian, provoked more by the insolence and treachery of the ravisher, than the infidelity of his wife, conceived the most determined animosity against Dermod. He practised secretly with Torlogh, promised the most inviolable attachment to his interest, and prevailed on him, not only to reinstate him in his possessions, but to revenge the insult of Mac-Murchad, whom he represented (and justly) as a faithless vassal, really devoted to the service of his rival. The king of Connaught led his forces into Leinster, rescued Dervorghal from her paramour, and restored her to her friends; with whom she lived, if not in a state of reconciliation with her husband, at least in that opulence and splendour, which enabled her to atone for the crime of infidelity by the usual method of magnificent donations to the church.

"This service naturally formed a close connection between O'Ruarc and the Connaught prince, with whom he remained in firm union, and by whose assistance he was enabled to revenge his wrongs, by frequently joining with the discontented chieftains of Leinster, and harassing his enemy king Dermod; till the death of Torlogh, in the year one thousand one hundred and fifty-six, rewarded the vigorous efforts of O'Loghlan with the dignity of monarch. Dermod was the first to acknowledge this new sovereign, and by the merit both of his former attachment, and his new submission, found support in his private quarrels, and in his turn was enabled to wreak his animosity on the prince of Breffney. But he had taken his party with too great precipitation. His patron, with the most outrageous defiance of all the precepts of humanity and good faith, seized on Dunleve, the prince of Uladh, with whom he had but now concluded a solemn treaty, and put out his eyes: which so provoked the neighbouring chieftains, that they instantly

took arms to avenge their associate, and defend themselves from the like barbarity. O'Lochlan was defeated, and by falling in the battle of Litterluin, as it was called, extinguished the hopes and pretensions of his family, and left the long-contested title of monarch to Roderic, son and successor of the late king of Connaught.

" Roderic, during the reign of his father and his own government of Connaught, had been for the most part engaged in the field, and though not always victorious, had acquired the reputation of valour, which was now confirmed in his present exaltation, to which the prevailing power of his faction had raised him. Determined to strike his enemies with terror, and to approve himself worthy of pre-eminence, he led a numerous army to Dublin, immediately after the death of O'Lochlan; was there solemnly inaugurated; engaged the Ostmen-inhabitants in his pay; and, thus reinforced, marched towards the north, and was received by the chieftains with every mark of submission. Dermod, justly dreading the vigour of this new monarch, and expecting all the fury of a triumphant resentment against the partizan of his fallen rival, was seized with the utmost consternation, and, in the phrenzy of vexation and despair, set fire to his own town of Ferns, lest his enemies should have the satisfaction of spoiling it. Nor was he mistaken in his apprehensions. Roderic soon returned, attended by O'Ruarc, still the inveterate enemy of the Leinster prince. They over-ran the whole province with an irresistible force. All the inferior lords were at once driven to make their peace and acknowledge the supremacy of Roderic; Dermod was deposed, as a man utterly unworthy of his station; to which another of his family was nominated, and gave sureties for his submission and fidelity to the monarch; who in the full career of glory pierced into Munster, regulated this

province at his pleasure, and returning to Meath, held a numerous and magnificent convention of the states, in which his grandeur and authority were so strikingly displayed, that the ancient honours of his country seemed to revive, at the very moment when all such expectations were on the point of being utterly extinguished; and the insolence of triumphant faction was ready to produce a revolution more important than Ireland had yet experienced.

"On the very first appearance of an invasion, Dermod felt the effects of his tyrannical government. His tributaries had at once deserted him; and some of the most considerable among them, as the Danish lord of Dublin, and the chieftain of Ossory, united with his enemies. His abject flattery and submission could not efface the memory of his former severities. The chief of the O'Birnes, a powerful sept in that part of Leinster now called Wicklow, was with difficulty persuaded by the clergy to admit him to his presence, disavowed all attachment to him, and with the haughtiness of a superior commanded him to depart, as he regarded his personal safety. And now, defeated, and degraded, in the bitterness of insulted pride, and the rage of malignant resentment, he formed the desperate purpose of abandoning his kingdom, and seeking in foreign countries the means of regaining his state, and gratifying his revenge. The situation of his territory naturally pointed out England as his place of immediate refuge; he embarked with sixty followers, and arrived at the port of Bristol.

"In England the odious part of his character was unknown. He was considered as an injured prince, deserted by rebellious vassals, and forced from his dominions by an iniquitous confederacy; and he was received with a suitable degree of pity and respect,

especially by the clergy, who entertained the friend and benefactor of their order, in the monastery of Augustines, with the utmost hospitality. Here he learned that Henry the king of England, whom he now professed to consider as his sole resource, was engaged in Acquitain, and thither he immediately proceeded. He appeared before the king in all the marks of distress and sorrow, and falling at his feet, made a passionate and affecting narrative of his misfortunes, enlarged on the malice of his countrymen, the treachery of his pretended friends, and the rebellion of his subjects, imploring the protection and assistance of Henry, the fame of whose magnanimity and generosity had prompted him to this address; adding that if he should be so happy as to obtain his powerful interposition, he would acknowledge him as his liege lord, and hold his dominions, which he was thus confident of regaining, in vassalage to Henry and his heirs.

" Nothing could have been more acceptable to the king than this petition, which revived the flattering ideas he had formerly conceived, and afforded a new pretence for leading an army into Ireland. But his affairs were still perplexed. His contest with the clergy subsisted; and he had but now received new proof of the obstinacy and violence of Becket; while the insurrections of his subjects in the provinces of France, fomented secretly by Louis, engaged him busily both in war and negociation. Yet still determined to improve the present incident as far as his situation might permit, he received the Irish prince with the utmost kindness, affected to commiserate his wrongs, made him munificent presents, accepted his tender of allegiance, and dismissed him with a letter of credence addressed to all his subjects, notifying his grace and protection granted to the king of Leinster, and declaring that who-

soever within his dominions should be disposed to aid him in the recovery of his territory, might be assured of his free licence and royal favour. Dermod returned to England, highly elevated by his favourable reception, and still more by the hopes of deriving important advantages from this letter. He repaired once more to Bristol, the usual resort of Irish vessels, and where of consequence he expected intelligence from his own country. Here he made publication of Henry's letter, repeated his piteous tale, and lavished his promises on all those who should assist the friend and vassal of their sovereign; but without effect. Whether his character and conduct had by this time been represented in an unfavourable light, or whether a disadvantageous opinion had been formed of his country, no one could be found, even in those days of adventure, to listen to his flattering promises, and take arms in his cause.

"A month thus elapsed without any prospect of succours, and Dermod began to abandon all hopes of a restoration, when, as his last desperate effort, he was persuaded to address himself to Richard earl of Chepstow, or Strigul, as it was anciently named, son of Gilbert, a nobleman of the illustrious house of Clare, known by the titles both of Chepstow and Pembroke, and of considerable note and consequence in Wales. His son was distinguished as well by his military genius, as by his station and alliances; attended by a powerful train of followers, whose affections he had gained by his courtesy and generosity; but, estranged from the royal favour, retired and disengaged, his fortune dissipated, his distresses urgent, and his prospects gloomy, he was thought likely to comply with the overtures of Dermod, who pressed him with the most urgent solicitations. These, however, were received with a coldness and reserve little suited to his present views. The earl,

better fitted for the execution, than the conduct of a bold design, was scrupulous and embarrassed; and, where he was to take a leading part, considered every difficulty minutely, and stated every objection in its full force. He could not consider the general licence of Henry as a sufficient warrant for a measure of such consequence, as that of leading his vassals into a foreign country. Dermod renewed his instances, and redoubled his promises. He engaged even to give him his daughter Eva in marriage, and to make him heir to his kingdom; though sensible that he had no power to nominate his heir, by the ancient usage and institutions of his country: such tempting offers at length prevailed over the scruples of earl Richard. He covenanted to assist him with a considerable force, which he appointed to transport into Ireland in the ensuing spring, provided he could obtain the king's particular licence and approbation.

"Elevated by the success of this negociation, Dermod conceived that he had most effectually provided for his re-establishment; and now advanced as far as to St. David's in South Wales, in order to return privately into Ireland, to collect the remains of his adherents, and to prepare for the reception of his expected ally. He was received by the bishop of this see with particular kindness, who affected the utmost indignation at his wrongs, and pity of his sufferings, and was particularly studious to gain friends to a prince, whose munificence to his clergy had every where made him a favourite of the order, in despite of tyranny and adultery. Rice Fitz-Griffith, who commanded in this country, had for some time meditated a revolt from the king of England. Robert Fitz-Stephen, an active, brave, and skilful soldier, had been entrusted by the Welchman with the government of Cardigan; but as he proved not well

disposed to favour his rebellious designs, he was seized by his order, and confined three years in prison. Such was the opinion formed of his abilities in war, that Rice now made him a voluntary offer of his liberty, provided he would unite with him against king Henry. Fitz-Stephen, though nearly allied to this chief by his mother's side, was yet utterly averse from such a service. His father was a Norman, and he himself, of consequence, attached to the interests of the English monarch. Solicitous, at the same time, to regain his liberty, he represented to Fitz-Griffith, that although he could not take arms against his liege-lord, he was yet willing to decline all part in the projected contest; that the Irish prince solicited assistance; that he would gladly hazard his life and fortune in a foreign land, so as not to oppose, since he could not assist him. These instances were urgently enforced by the bishop, and by Maurice Fitz-Gerald, maternal brother to Fitz-Stephen, a lord of distinguished worth and valour, who with some other adventurous knights of Wales, now consented to take part in the Irish expedition. Robert, thus set at liberty, covenanted to engage with all his followers in the service of Dermod, who on his part promised to cede to the two principal leaders, Fitz-Stephen, and Fitz-Gerald, the entire dominion of the town of Wexford, with a large adjoining territory, as soon as by their assistance he should be reinstated in his rights.

" Such was the original scheme of an invasion, which in the event proved of so great importance. An odious fugitive, driven from his province by faction and revenge, gains a few adventurers in Wales, whom youthful valour or distress of fortune led into Ireland, in hopes of some advantageous settlements. Dermod, who, no doubt, encouraged his new allies by the assurance of a powerful reinforcement of his countrymen, was obliged

to affect impatience to depart, and to provide for their reception. He paid his vows in the church of St. David, embarked, landed in Ireland, passed without discovery through the quarters of his enemies, arrived at Ferns, and was entertained and concealed in the monastery which he himself had erected; waiting impatiently for the return of spring, when the English powers were to come to his assistance. To the clergy he took care to magnify his gracious reception by king Henry, the dispositions of the English in his favour, and the number, force, and valour of the confederates he expected. The intelligence was industriously spread abroad, and served to animate his adherents; who incautiously crowded in considerable numbers to their old master, and received his assurances of a speedy and effectual support. As the secret of his return could not be long concealed, he assumed the appearance of the utmost confidence. He even marched at the head of his adherents, and possessed him of a part of his dominions called Hi-Kenselagh. Yet secretly distracted and terrified, tormented by delay, and dreading a disappointment, he dispatched Regan, his faithful domestic, into England to hasten the succours already promised, and to solicit others, with an assurance of rich settlements and large rewards to all adventurers.

" Roderic, who was still busily employed in establishing his authority, confirming his adherents, and terrifying his secret enemies, was not long uninformed of the return of Dermod. Fame magnified the force he had collected, and converted a few followers of Wales, who embarked with this prince, into an army of foreigners. Possibly the new chieftain of Leinster was author of this report, as he seems to have found no resources in his own valour and abilities, but to have relied entirely on the protection of Roderic. The monarch had lately obliged

the northern chieftains, whom he most suspected, to acknowledge his supremacy; and was now impatient to regulate the disorders both of Meath and Thomond, in each of which provinces the violence of local feuds and factions had ended in the murder of the reigning princes. Yet still resolving to chastise the insolence of the Leinster chief, he suddenly collected some forces, and, with his faithful associate O'Ruarc, marched into the country of Hi-Kenselagh.

" Dermod, terrified at this incursion of his inveterate enemies, fled into his woods for shelter; and, favoured by the advantage of situation, made a show of resistance, and even skirmished with the enemy, without any considerable disadvantage or disgrace. In the first action the forces of Connaught were repelled with some loss: another battle ensued, in which the Tainist, or successor elect of O'Ruarc, fell; and on the part of Dermot, a young lord of Wales, whom the Irish annals, in the style of their nation, call a king's son, together with others of inferior note, were killed. But this chieftain, sensible of his own weakness, and the necessity of amusing his assailants, artfully proposed to treat, made solemn professions of the most abject submission to Roderic, and formally renounced his claim to the government of Leinster; requesting, as an object of compassion, to be allowed to retain ten cantreds only of the province, which he promised to hold in absolute dependance upon Roderic, and in perfect submission to that monarch. To him he tendered seven hostages as a surety for his obedience; and to O'Ruarc, one hundred ounces of gold, as an inducement to bury all old animosities in oblivion, and to grant his favour and protection to an unhappy prince, whom he could no longer consider as a rival, divested, as he was, of all the antient rights and honours of his family. Roderic, intent on

objects apparently more important, accepted his insidious submission; consented to remit this small portion of territory to Dermod, received his hostages, and hastened to make the necessary dispositions in other provinces.

"But the period at length arrived, when Dermod was to discover his insincerity, and to assert, at the head of an army, the rights he had so solemnly relinquished. Robert Fitz-Stephen had collected his forces, consisting of thirty knights, sixty men in armour, and three hundred archers, all chosen men of Wales, and embarking in three ships about the beginning of the month of May, in the year eleven hundred and seventy, arrived at a creek called the Bann, near the city of Wexford. With these came Hervey of Mountmorres, not with any military train, but as the emissary of his nephew, the earl of Chepstow, to survey the country, and to report its state and circumstances to Richard, so as to direct him in his intended enterprize. This troop was the very next day reinforced by Maurice of Pendergast, a valiant Welshman, at the head of ten knights and two hundred archers. The commotion which was naturally produced through the adjacent country by the landing of a foreign force, served to alarm the Britons, who, before they adventured to march forward, sent immediately to Dermod to notify their arrival, and to demand his assistance. The Irish prince was filled with the utmost exultation. Numbers of his subjects, who had abandoned him in his distress, considered this event as a certain assurance of his speedy restoration, and now crowded eagerly to his standard. He instantly sent five hundred men, headed by his natural son Donold, a youth of distinguished bravery, to join the invaders. He himself soon followed, received his foreign allies with every expression of joy and affection, renewed those

promises he had made in England; and their mutual stipulations being adjusted and ratified with all due solemnity, they proceeded to concert the operations of war, and the measures most effectual for their own interests and the service of the prince of Leinster." — *Leland's Ireland.*

No. III.

PLOW-LAND.

"ALL Ireland was anciently divided into farms, which were called plow-lands, and in some parts went by other appellations. They varied in size: the plow-lands in the rich grounds being generally small, in poor and mountainous districts, larger. Each plow-land supplied all its inhabitants with every comfort and necessary of life. The farmer, who occupied the whole, was at the head of a little community; he had his labourers, his smyth, his mason, carpenter, weaver, potter, schoolmaster, musician, &c.; all these dwelt upon the plow-land, and earned their subsistence by their industry; each having generally his cottage and garden rent free. The plow-land was a community not exactly upon Mr. Owen's principle, but, perhaps, upon one better suited to the nature of the human being.

"The division by plow-lands still subsists, but there are few that have not been subdivided into many farms. The origin of the division by plow-lands is beyond the memory of man, but it appears to have been generally made with great judgment."

No. IV.

ON THE FORMER WEALTH OF IRELAND.

"CAMBRENSIS, who visited this country long after the Danes had robbed its inhabitants of their treasures, asserts, that even in his day it abounded with gold.[a] Hadrianus Junius says that pure veins of silver were found in Ireland:—

"'——————— *Stannique Fodinas*
Et puri argenti venas, quas terra refossis
Visceribus manes imos visura recludit.'"

"'And mines of tin, and veins of silver ore,
Which Mother Earth, unlocking all her store,
From her deep bosom yields, as if to show
A nearer passage to the shades below.'"

"Helmets and different kinds of armour, ornamented with gold, have been frequently dug up in various parts of the kingdom. A corslet, cased with pure ductile gold, was found by a farmer at Tulla, near Clare, who sold it, about the year 1772, to a silversmith in Limerick. O'Halloran, who had seen many similar ones, informs us that it weighed nine ounces.[b] Bits of bridles, of solid gold, have been often found in Ireland. One of these, which weighed ten ounces, was presented by Lord Strafford to Charles I.[c] Golden gorgets, or neck-collars, called by Irish antiquaries Iodhain Morain, and worn by the ancient law judges, have been dug up in many districts of this country. A very beautiful one

[a] Expug. Hib. lib. ii. c. 75.
[b] O'Halloran, vol. i. p. 121.
[c] Warner's Introduction to Irish History.

of these curious gorgets is now in the possession of the Rev. Francis Gervais, rector of Tartaraghan. This remnant of antiquity, which is elegantly adorned with a kind of chase-work engraving, was found, about three years ago, in the townland of Tullynafoile, barony of Clogher, and county of Tyrone. Another lately discovered golden Iodhain Morain is now deposited in the cabinet of Mr. Thomas Lindley, Armagh. Golden cups, connected by a curvilinear bar of the same metal, have been dug up from time to time in various parts of every province in the kingdom.

" Dr. Ledwich, in the first edition of his Antiquities, page 114., says, " that Ireland possesses mines of lead, iron, and copper, is incontestably true; and *it is equally certain she has none of gold or silver, but so far as the latter is united with lead.*" Of the learned doctor's *certainties* we may form a due estimate from the following passage in the second edition of his Antiquities, p. 213., in which he says, " that Ireland possesses mines of iron and copper is incontestably true, and it is *probable* she has some of *gold* or *silver.*"[b] He was then aware, it may be presumed, that gold had been discovered in considerable quantities in the Wicklow mountains, and that measures had been taken, under the sanction of the state, for working the mines of that district, near the close of the last century. But long prior to the first publication of his work, Harris had stated, in the year 1746, that gold had been found in the copper mines of Wicklow.[d]

" It is recorded by some Norwegian writers that the Ostmans got considerable treasure in Dublin in the ninth century.[c] Indeed, Saxo Grammaticus says, that

[d] Harris's Ware's Ant. p. 203.

[c] Gram. Hist. Dan. vi. Barthol. p. 15.

so "great was the quantity found by the victors, that little care was taken in its division."

"Our annalists relate, that Cormac M'Cuillionain presented to the abbey of Armagh twenty-four ounces of gold and twenty-four of silver, and that King Brian Boruhme gave twenty ounces of gold to the cathedral. Gelasius granted sixty ounces of gold to the abbatial church of Mellifont, in the year 1158. Donat O'Carrol, king of Ergal, and Dervogilla, wife of Tiernan O'Rourke, gave each the same quantity. In 1152 Tirloch O'Connor received sixty ounces of gold, a golden cup, and sixty golden bracelets, as a ransom for the chieftain of Munster, then his prisoner.[f] In 1162 the people of Ossory collected four hundred and twenty ounces of silver for the use of a prelate named O'Brolcan.[g]

"In the year 1692 a golden crown was dug up on the summit of a hill called Barnanely, or the *Devil's Bit*, in the county of Tipperary, adorned with chase-work, and resembling the crowns worn in the Eastern empire, which were composed of a helmet and diadem.[h] Part of a golden tiara was found about sixteen years ago in the drained bed of Loughadian, near Pointzpass, and is yet in possession of William Fivey, Esq.

"But the wealth of ancient Scotia, or Ireland, was derived from various other sources besides gold, silver, tin, lead, and copper mines. We have already shown from the Roman historian, Tacitus, that her ports were better known to commercial men than those of Great Britain. The following lines, written by Donat, who was bishop of Fesulæ, near Florence, in Italy, about the year 802, show that her lands produced in abundance

[f] Annals of Ulster.

[g] Ware's Ant. p. 204.

[h] Ibid. p. 65. Selden, Tit. Hon. part i. c. 8. p. 166. Keat. Pref.

various articles essentially necessary to the well-being of society.

"'Finibus occiduis describitur optima Tellus
Nomine et antiquis Scotia scripta libris
Insula dives opum, gemmarum, vestis, et auri,
Commoda corporibus aere, sole, solo.
Melle fluit pulchris et lacteis Scotia campis
Vestibus atque armis, frugibus, arte, viris.
Ursorum rabies nulla est ibi; sæva leonum
Semina nec unquam Scotica terra tulit.
Nulla venena nocent, nec serpens serpit in herba
Nec conquesta canit garrula rana lacu.
In qua Scotorum gentes habitare merentur.
Inclyta gens hominum, milite, pace, fide.'"

Stuart's Armagh.

No. V.

"ON THE ANCIENT SCHOOL OR COLLEGE OF ARMAGH, AND THE STATE OF ANCIENT IRISH LITERATURE.

"THE school of Armagh was founded by St. Patrick himself[a], and continued for a long time one of the most celebrated seminaries of literature in Europe. From time to time it received the patronage of the kings of Ireland, and even Roderick O'Connor, the last of its native monarchs, made a new grant to the professors of this college in the year 1169.[b] From this school many learned men, not only of the Irish nation, but students from every part of Christendom, issued forth to instruct their respective countrymen, and to diffuse knowledge throughout Europe. Some of these scholars became martyrs for the truths of Christianity. Swithbert[c], the

[a] Vita Trip. [b] Lucius, p. 89, 90.
[c] Jus. Prim. Armac. cap. 578.

apostle of[b] Westphalia, and Willibrord, archbishop of Utrecht, two learned Anglo-Saxons, were educated at Armagh. We learn from Alcuin, the preceptor of Charlemagne[d], that Willibrord studied 'twelve years in Ireland, under masters of high reputation, being intended for a missionary-preacher to many people.' He styles him —

> "'Vir Virtute potens divino plenus amore
> Ore sagax, et mente vigil, et fervidus actu.'

This learned missionary founded the monastery of Epternach, where he died, A. D. 739.[e]

"Gildas Albanius, the most ancient of the British historians, who was, according to Bayle[f], a disciple of St. Patrick, presided over the Armagh college, from whence he returned to Britain, when he heard of the death of his brother, who was slain by King Arthur, as we learn from his biographer, Caradocus Lhancarvanensis.[g] He died on the 29th of January, 512. — St. Catroe was also an alumnus of Armagh college.[h]

"The annals of Ulster state, that in the year 1162[i] an ecclesiastical synod, assembled by Gelasius at Cleonad, decreed that no persons should be permitted to teach or publicly lecture on the science of theology, except those who had studied at the Armagh academy. Hence an assertion made by Florence Macarthy[k], that 7000 pupils were, at one period, to be found in that college, is by no means incredible. From this synodical

[d] Vita Willib. lib. i. et ii.

[e] Gaspar Bruschius.

[f] See also Harpsfeld and Pitceus, who agree with Bayle on this point.

[g] Caradoc. in vita Gildæ, cap. 9. 12.

[h] Jus. Prim. cap. 379.

[i] According to our calculation, 1163.

[k] Citantibus Usser et Ware.

decree we may fairly infer, that the school had retained its high character from age to age, and was at all periods the chief seminary of literature in this kingdom. Hence it is probable that the Irish philosopher and mathematician, Fearġall, known on the Continent by the names of Virgil and Solivagus [l], was educated here. So early as the year 748, this eminent man maintained the sphericity of the earth, the existence of the antipodes, and the plurality of worlds, as is manifest from a letter written by pope Zacharias to bishop Boniface on that subject.[m] Here, also, it is probable that Erigena derived those liberal sentiments in religion and philosophy which rendered him illustrious on the Continent in the ninth century. The same, also, may be rationally conjectured of Albin, (the friend of Charles the Great,) who afterwards presided over the university of Ticinum, and of Clement[n], (provost of the university of Paris,) and of other learned Hibernian Scots. Be this as it may, the names of many professors in the Armagh college are yet on record; and amongst these, that of Imar O'Hedagain, the rebuilder of St. Paul and St. Peter's church, and the preceptor of Malachy Morgair.[o]

"Foreign students were gratuitously furnished in the Irish colleges with lodging, diet, clothes, and books; and we have the authority of Bede[p] and Alcuin[q], as well as of Erric, of Auxerre[r], and of the writer of the

[l] Stannihurst, Descript. Hib. c. 7.

[m] Vet. Epist. Hib. Syl. p. 49, 50.

[n] A writer of the fourteenth century affirms, "that by the works of Clement, an Irishman, the French might be compared to the Athenians and Romans." — *Vide Bebenburgius de Zelo Veter. Princip. German, citante O'Halloran.*

[o] Tria Thaum. Sept. Append. ad acta S. Pat.

[p] Hist. Eccl. Brit. lib. iii. c. 7. 27. — lib. iv. c. 26.

[q] Vita S. Willibrord. lib. ii. c. 4.

[r] De Mirac. S. Germani, lib. i. c. ult.

Life of Sulgenus, that numbers of Saxons, Gauls, &c. flocked to Ireland for instruction. This account is corroborated by Camden, Spencer, Llhuid, and Roland. It is certain, that whoever wished to perfect himself in theology and in the other sciences, deemed it necessary to reside in some of the literary seminaries of this country. Hence Camden quotes the following passage from the Life of Sulgen: —

> "'Exemplo patrum commotus amore legendi
> Ivit ad Hibernos, Sophia mirabile claros.'

He alleges, also, that the ancient English even learned the form of their letters from the Irish.[s] Indeed the Irish language seems to have been formerly held in considerable repute, even by British monarchs; for when Aidan preached in that tongue to the Northumbrians, King Oswin himself interpreted his discourse to the people.[t] When any learned man on the Continent had disappeared, it was generally said of him, '*Amandatus est ad disciplinam in Hibernia.*' Aldelm, an author of the seventh century, the very first of the English nation who wrote Latin poetry, was a pupil of the Hibernian Scot, Maidulph, as Camden testifies.[u] Aigilbert, the first bishop of the Western Saxons, and afterwards bishop of Paris, and Alfred, king of Northumberland, were educated in Ireland.[x]

"The sciences and liberal arts, taught in the Irish colleges, were, Theology, Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, and Astronomy. Of these, the last seven were methodically comprised and digested in a disquisition, which had been written by

[s] Camden's Ireland, p. 68. Holland's trans.
[t] Bede, Hist. Eccl. Brit. lib. ii. c. 3.
[u] Camden, Wiltshire, p. 242. Holland's trans.
[x] Bedæ, lib. iii. c. 7—27. Id. in Carm. de vita S. Cuthbert, c. 21.

Martianus Capella in the fifth century.[y] On this author, Johannes Scotus Erigena wrote comments, and Duncant, an Irish bishop, delivered lectures in St. Remigius's monastery, in Down; and these works are still extant.[z] From such materials we may learn the nature of the studies to which the Irish literati dedicated their time. The works of Cumian, abbot of Hi, are honourable to the Irish seminary in which he studied. In some of these there is a considerable display of erudition, talent, and research. References are made by Cumian to Hieronymus[a], St. Augustine, Origen, Cyprian, Cyril, and Gregory. In treating of cycles, he refers to the authority of Patrick, discusses those of Anatolius, Theophilus, Dionysius, Cyril, and Victorius[b], &c. &c. Indeed, Cumian's erudite letter to Segien furnishes an example of Hibernian literature, and, of course, of the nature of the collegiate studies successfully cultivated in Ireland during the seventh century.

"Erigena was admirably well versed in the Greek and Latin languages. From the Greek, he translated the books of Dionysius, the Areopagite[c], in such a manner as to astonish the royal Charles. He translated also Aristotelis Moralia de secretis secretorum into Chaldaic, Arabic, and Latin.[d] He is deemed to have been the author of the Excerpta in Macrobius, concerning the affinities and discrepances of the Greek and

[y] Fabric. Biblioth. lat. p. 638. Barth. Advers. lib. viii. Ledw. Ant. p. 351, 352.

[z] Fabric. Bib. lat. p. 640. Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. ii. p. 75, 76. Ledwich. Ant. p. 352.

[a] Vet. Epist. Syl. 25—31.

[b] Ibid. p. 32.

[c] Guliel. Malm. lib. ii. de Gest. Reg. Ang. c. 4. Trithem. de Script. Eccles. Gul. Eysengren. Catal. test. verit. Polychron. Ran. Higden.

[d] Bayle, centur. 2. Script. Brit. cap. 24.

Latin Syntaxes[e], as well of a treatise περι φυσεων. He was an adept in theology and the other sciences, and from his works we may appreciate the classic taste of the Irish literati in the ninth century. The enlightened system of astronomy adopted before that period in the Hibernian schools may be inferred from what we have already said concerning Virgil.

"The study of their vernacular tongue was not neglected by Irish scholars. A glossary of that language was written by Cormack Mac Cuillionain, king of Munster and bishop of Cashel, who was slain at the battle of Bealach Muchna, A. D. 908.[f] A very ancient copy of this work, on vellum, is deposited in the library of Sir William Betham, and another in the collection of the learned Irish lexicographer, Edward Reilly.[g] — There is some probability that the ancient Danes, as well as the Saxons, acquired their knowledge of letters from Ireland; and Wormius admits that his countrymen have an old alphabet called Ira Letur, or Irlandorum Literæ.[h]

"To Hibernian Scots the literati of Europe owe the introduction of scholastic divinity, and the application of philosophic reasoning to illustrate the doctrines of theology, as we learn from the works of Benedict, abbot of Aniam, in Languedoc, a writer of the eighth century.[i]

"Giraldus Cambrensis (no favourer of the Irish) seems to have been quite enraptured with their music,

[e] MSS. in Trin. Col. Cantab. citante Usser. in Epist. Recen. p. 135.

[f] Act. Sanct. p. 5. Ogyg. p. 208.

[g] See Preface to his excellent Dictionary of the Irish Language.

[h] Worm. Lit. Run. cap. 1. and see also the Preface to the Irish Historic Library of Bishop Nicholson, p. 13.

[i] Baluz. Miscell. citante Mosheim, vol. ii. p. 256.

which was taught scientifically in their colleges. Their skill, he says, was 'incomparably superior to that of any other nation. For their modulations are not slow and morose, as in the instruments of Britain, to which we are habituated; but the sounds are rapid and precipitate, yet sweet and pleasing. It is wonderful that the musical proportion is preserved amidst such precipitate velocity of the fingers, and that the melody is rendered full and perfect, by an undeviating art, amidst such trembling modulations — such organic tones, so infinitely intricate — possessed of such pleasing swiftness — such unequal parity — such discordant concord. Whether the chords of the diatesseron or diapente be struck together, they begin and terminate in dulce, that all may be perfectly completed in delightful, sonorous melody. They commence and close their modulations with so much subtilty, and the tinklings of the slender strings sport so freely with the deep tones of the bass chords — so delicately pleasing — so softly soothing — that the perfection of their art lies in concealing art,' &c. &c.

"To the same effect testify Ranulph Higden [k], and Polydore Virgil, who styles the Irish *musica peritissimi.* Vincentio Galilei, a Florentine, and father of the great Galileo, quotes the poet Dante, who lived about the year 1300, to prove that the harp or altered cithera had, in its improved form, been introduced by the Irish into Italy. [l] Fuller, in his account of the Holy War [m], says, 'Yea, we might well think that all the concert of Christendom, in this war, would have made no music, if the Irish harp had been wanting.' In modern times, Gemiliani was delighted and astonished by the harmony

[k] Apud Gale, p. 122.

[l] Vide Critical Dissert. prefixed to Bunting's Collection, p. 25. 1.

[m] B. v. c. 25. citante Walker.

of some of our ancient airs; and Handel [n] declared that he would rather have been the author of Eallen a Roon than of the most exquisite of his own musical compositions. Perhaps this simple, original air contains more melody, in fewer notes, than any other in existence.

"Since such has uniformly been the power of Irish music, we need not wonder that Gertrude, the daughter of the illustrious Pepin, maire of the palace to Dagobert and Sigebert, in the seventh century, sent to Ireland not only for learned men to instruct the religeuse of the abbey of Neville, *but for musicians, and chanters to teach them church-harmony, or psalm-singing.*[o]

"With music poetry was intimately connected. That classic poetry was cultivated in Ireland at a very early period, the writings of Sedulius (who styles himself 'a Scot of Hibernia,' in his Comment on St. Paul's Epistles,) demonstrate. Maidulph, the preceptor of Aldelm, (the first Englishman who wrote Latin verses,) was himself an Irishman and a poet, and flourished A. D. 676.[p] The classic Alcuin[q], who also wrote Latin verses, styles the Irish prelector, Colcus, his master.[r] Spenser, the English poet, says, that even in his day the verses of the Irish bards 'savoured of sweet wit and good invention.'[s] And Mr. Warton proves that the Welsh bards derived their knowledge of music from instructions which they received in Ireland.[t]

[n] O'Connor's Dissert. p. 58.

[o] Fleury, Hist. Ecclesiast. tom. viii. p. 421.

[p] Camden, Brit. v. 1. p. 104. Vide Holland's trans. p. 242. Malm. de Gest. Reg. Ang. lib. i. c. 2. Ware's Writers, p. 42.

[q] It may be worth noting that this Alcuin, after having stated that Willibrord was educated in Ireland, informs us again, c. 33. Vit. Willi., that he had studied in the country of the Scots.

[r] Vet. Epist. Hib. Syll. p. 31.

[s] Ibid. p. 112, 113.

[t] Hist. of English Poetry, dissert. i.

"The Irish literati of the middle ages did not confine their useful labours to their own colleges, but formed various literary, hospitable, and religious establishments in foreign countries.[c] In the council of Meaux, A. D. 845, it was decreed, that complaints should be made to the king of the ruin of hospitable houses, *particularly of those of the Irish nation, founded by benevolent natives of that country.*[u] In the seventh century Columban, an Irishman, founded the abbey of Luxevil, in Burgundy, a second at Fontanelle[x], and a third at Bobio, near Naples. Gall, another Hibernian, founded the abbey of Stinace, or Stinaha, near the lake Constance.[y] In the sixth century, Columba, the Irish Culdee, founded the famous monastery of Hi, or Iona[z], and converted the Picts. Arbogast, an Hibernian Scot, about the year 646 founded an oratory in Alsace, where Hagenau was afterwards built.[a] Maidulph erected the monastery of Ingleborne, where, about the year 676, he instructed the English youth in classic literature.[b] Fursey founded a monastery at Cnobersburgh, now Burgh Castle, in Suffolk, about the year 637, and, shortly afterwards, the abbey of Laigni, in the diocese of Paris.[c] He died on the 16th of January, 648.[d] — It is unnecessary to pursue this subject further. We may, however, remind

[u] Fleury, Hist. Eccl. tom. x. p. 382.

[x] Jonas, Vita Columb. c. 7, 8, 9. Marian. Scotus.

[y] Wal. Strab. in vita S. Galli apud Surium, tom. v. ad 16 Oct. et Messing. Flórileg. p. 255. et sequent.

[z] Cumian vita Columb. Tria Thaum. p. 325. et sequent. Adam Vit. Col. Tria Thaum. p. 336. et sequent. Bede, Eccl. Hist. Gent. Angl. lib. iii. cap. 4.

[a] Gaspar Brusch, de Episc. Germ. p. 55.

[b] Holland's Camden, p. 242.

[c] Miræus de Colleg. Canon. p. 41. Desm. vita Furs. c. 13, 14, 15, 16.

[d] Bed. Martyr.

our readers that Charlemagne of France placed the university of Paris, and that of Ticinum, (*i. e.* Pavia,) the two first-formed establishments of the kind on the Continent of Europe, under the care of two Irishmen, Albin and Clements, as best qualified to preside over institutions at once so novel and so useful.[e]

"Since Bede informs us[f] that, in the days of the bishops Finan and Colman, multitudes of the nobility and of the middle ranks of the English nation studied in Ireland, and were there supplied with books and food without charge; it may be presumed that the abbots and head professors were in possession of considerable funds to bear the expenses of such very liberal establishments. To prove the truth of this supposition, we now subjoin an account of some of the possessions belonging to the abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul, to which the school of Armagh was annexed. The revenue resulting from this and similar property was quite independent of all occasional regal donations.—

"The abbey and twelve gardens in the city — the townlands of Ballyleanmore, Clawdoughe, Killemeky, Ballyleanbegge, Dromvolly, Ballyneydarragh, Drountee, Lourgowergh, Ballyvically, Downlyr, Cavanaghan, Prosnawhyge, Crecanmore, Fallee, Correcleigh, Aghagoran, Tassaagh, Tearrarlee[g], Crewroe — the third part of Annagh — third of Dromcote — sixth of Tyrnarnunagell — fourth of Tullaloyst — fourth of Enaghbuidhe — third of Achanoyce — third of Tullachelmayne — sixth of Downalloghe — a tract of land called

[e] See Notker Balbulus, apud Canisium. Antige Lut. tom. i. p. 360. et Vinc Spec. Hist. lib. xxiii. cap. 173. et Anton. Chron. tit. xiv. c. 4. sec. 12.

[f] Lib. iii. c. 27.

[g] *i. e.* Tiriarle, the Western Land, because it lay west of the royal residence at Creeve Roe (Craobh Ruadh).

Knock Ederyn, near the abbey — the lands of Cloghan, Corraghe, Cloghum, Tullongh O'Sarran, Aughan O'Cloyghy, Crossereen, Moulegournagh, near Armagh, and all tithes of the said districts — the two townlands of Corheenan, and the townland of Clonarbe, in the parish of Tynan — the advowson of Tynan church, and the townland of Maugergrene, appurtenant thereto.[h]

"In 1557 James Donelly, the prior, was found seized of the abbey, &c. in the city of Armagh, and of a parcel of land called Garry, Templemurray, and Garrynemanus; and a considerable tract in the following districts, viz. Knockadrain, Dromcoote, Lurgaboyourah, Aghamoote, the Grange of Lurgaboy — townland of Dromnemuickee, Tallynemalloroogh, Mullinesillagh — Grange of Ballymacally, Broaghucclogh, Leatery, Inclonconoghy, Lurgalachtnemingle, Tullochbofin — Grange of Sessiaghneogrechanphy, Carnevanaghran — townland of Rieskyroddeh, Foallee, Fullynoroy, Tyranegargill, Aghanore, Knockenbog, Lurgaboyligragh, Seskinultagh, Agheter Toyl, *alias* Knock Toyl, Cornegillagh, Broaghcullen, Dromenecheghy, Shancarragh, Lismore, Dromentee, Cavenaghgroah, Tulloghboreagh, Drumlirk, Carnafinagher, Knockedderdshrogh de Foalle, Knocknegressegh, Tulloghlosky, Tullyelinane, Aghagonnell, Knockatreely, Carrigennare, Aghavallagh, Coolaghill, Aghacarragh — Grange of Tubbersuawght, Doonlish, Mallaghdromerbeh — Grange of Odenegreanan, Rieskenefedoge, Annaghboy, Dunollagh, Tyregarve, Lurgaboy, and one hundred and twenty-one other denominations of land, which the reader may find fully recited in Archdall's Monasticon Hibernicum, pages 26, 27, 28, 29.[i]

[h] The above account is extracted from an inquisition taken A. D. 1539, when Patrick Hagan was abbot.

[i] The abbey and property appurtenant was granted to Sir Toby Caulfeild, in May 1612, at 5*l.* rent.—*Lodge*, vol. iii. p. 86.

"The abbot was also seized of the tithes of all those lands, and Sessiogh, Lurgaboy, Ballyvanran, and Knoctanty in Clanchoncy, as well as of the lands of Dromarge, *alias* Dooghmuinterdogan, Coolcummery, Jengooda, Tinenesken, Balliboe, Cavan, Tullyasnech, Tiretragh, Tirenesagart, and Downe.[k]" — *Stuart's Armagh.*

No. VI.

"ON THE STATE OF THE ANCIENT IRISH CHURCH.

"IT is probable that in the very days of the apostles themselves Christianity had extended to some parts of this island, and had continued here till the time of Chrysostom, who, in demonstrating that Christ is God, says, 'The British isles, situated beyond this sea, and which are in the very ocean, have perceived the power of the word; for even there churches are founded and altars erected.'[a] Eusebius (Pamphili) says, in lib. iii. that 'some of the apostles had passed into the isles which we name Britannic;' and hence Nicephorus alleges that some of the apostles had selected Egypt and Syria — others the extreme regions of ocean and the Britannic isles, for their pious missions.[b]

"It is shown by Ussher that Mansu, or Mansuetus, a Scot of Ireland, was converted and ordained by St. Peter the apostle, and in the year 66 made bishop of Toul, now Lorraine, where he died, on the 3d of Sep-

[k] King, p. 252. citante Archdall.
[a] Chrys. Op. tom. vi. edit. Græc. Savil. p. 635. Tom. viii. p. iii
[b] Niceph. Hist. lib. iii. c. i.

tember, 105.[c] Here he built and dedicated a church to St. Stephen. — Adso, his biographer, writes thus of him:—

> 'Inclyta, Mansueti claris natalibus orti
> Progenies titulis fulget in orbe suis
> Insula Christicoles gestabat Hibernia gentes
> Unde genus traxit et satus inde fuit.'

"It is not necessary to inquire minutely into the exact time when Christianity was first preached in Ireland. Suffice it, that it reached this country at a very early period. We find that, in the year 350, Elephius, son of a Scoto-Hibernian king, suffered martyrdom, having been decapitated by order of the emperor Julian, who was enraged at this pious man for having baptized a number of his subjects. Rupert mentions that the apostate himself was present at his execution.[d]

"In the fourth century it appears that Christian missionaries had here founded some churches and schools, and thus prepared the way for the more effectual preaching of St. Patrick. Celestius, an Irishman, who studied under the learned heresiarch, Pelagius, wrote three letters, from the monastery in which he resided, to his parents in Ireland, and exhorted them to the exercise of piety and virtue, in terms which sufficiently show that they were Christians.[e]

"Ailbe, Declan, Ibar, and Kiaran, all natives of this country, were the immediate precursors of Palladius, who had preceded St. Patrick in his mission to Ireland.[f]

[c] Irenic German. Exeg. lib. iii. c. 49.—Demochar. de Missa. lib. ii. c. 33. Eysengrein, centen. 1. part 1. distinct 3. citante Usser. Brit. Ecc. Ant. p. 390.

[d] Rupert in Vit. Elephii. cap. 12. apud Surium, tom. v. Oct. 16.

[e] Gennad. Massil. Eccl. Scrip. Cat. cap. xliv. citante Usser. Brit. Ecc. Ant. p. 411.

[f] Vita Dec. Vita Kiaran. Vita Alb. &c. citante Usser. Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 409.

These pious men are said, in the Lives of Declan and Ailbe, to have been consecrated bishops at Rome, and to have established churches in Ireland in the beginning of the fifth century.[g] Declan was baptized by Colman, an Irish presbyter; and Ailbe by another Christian priest. Cairbre, the preceptor of the former, was also a Christian. Hence we may infer that the religion of Jesus was systematically taught in this country in the fourth century.[h]

"Be this as it may — St. Patrick was not sent to convert a nation altogether heathen. The venerable Bede says, that in the eighth year of the emperor Theodosius, Palladius was sent by Celestine, bishop of the Roman church, to the *Scots believing in Christ*[i]; and Prosper, in his Chronicle ad Ann. page 431, testifies to the same effect. Now, we have already shown that Ireland was anciently denominated *Scotia*, and her people *Scots*, and that Palladius had actually visited this kingdom to fulfil his mission. As a further corroboration of our argument, we may add, that Ireland is called Scotia by Issidor, Jonas, Eginhard, secretary to Charles the Great, as well as by Nennius, Gretser, Canisius, Marianus Scotus, Archbishop Raban, Wandelbert, and Ceolfrid.[k] The latter author, who wrote in the beginning of the eighth century, calls Ireland the proper country of the Scots.[l] Giraldus Cambrensis[m], Henry

[g] Usser. Brit. Eccl. Ant. p. 412.

[h] Ibid.

[i] Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 13.

[k] Ceolfrid in Epist. ad Naitanum Regem, apud Bedam, lib. v. Hist. c. 22.

[l] Ibid. c. 16. lib. i. c. 1. lib. iii. c. 27. et Martyr. ejusd. viii. Id. Julii.

[m] Distinct. iii. c. 7.

of Huntingdon [n], John of Tinmouth [o], and John Major, make similar assertions.

"To the same effect wrote Orosius, in the fifth century; and a letter, which is yet extant, was addressed, in the seventh century, by the English prelates, Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus, to the Scots who inhabit Ireland; and another was written by the Roman clergy, in 639, to Tomian, bishop of Armagh, and other Irish prelates and presbyters, who are styled in the epistle *Scots*.[p]

"The distinction betwixt Scotia Major (Ireland) and Scotia Minor (Albanian Scotland) is well known. Thus, in an ancient hymn in the Ratisbon Breviary, we have these lines —

> "' Verus hic Israelita
> Quem fraus omnis fugit
> Hunc exortum pusionem
> *Major Scotia* nutriit.'[q]

And in an ancient breviary of Aberdeen it is said, St. Winnius, born in a province of *Scotia*, was by a prosperous gale wafted to *Scotia Minor*.

"Thus it appears manifest that what Bede and Prosper have said with respect to Palladius's mission to the Scots, must have had a direct reference to the Christians of Ireland.

"But although the pure religion of Jesus had made some progress in this country before the arrival of St. Patrick, it does not appear to have been universally or even generally received. The mighty work of national

[n] Fol. 170.

[o] Vit. Col. c. 2—7.

[p] Bed. Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 4—19. Usser. Vet. Epist. Hib. Syll. 22, 23. 18.

[q] Citante Usser. Brit. Ecc. Ant. p. 379.

conversion remained for him to effect; and he is, therefore, justly entitled to the name and character of 'The Apostle of Ireland.' We may, therefore, conclude that the ancient church of Ireland, viewed as a religious system acknowledged and adopted by the people, was founded by him after the building of the city of Armagh, near the middle of the fifth century.

"St. Patrick seems to have exercised a kind of patriarchal power in this infant church. He is stated to have ordained 365 bishops and 3000 presbyters, and to have founded 365 churches.[q] It is manifest that such a multitude of prelates could not have been of the nature of diocesan bishops, and it is probable that one of these dignified ecclesiastics was allotted by him to each church. It is, indeed, by no means unlikely that they officiated in their respective churches at stated times, and occasionally acted as itinerant preachers, diffusing the light of the Gospel from district to district, like their great preceptor, Patrick. A populous nation, from which heathenism was not yet effectually banished, required active and intelligent missionaries of this nature. The system of appointing numerous bishops, which was the offspring of convenience, seems to have been perpetuated by custom, as we learn from the following remarkable passage in St. Bernard's Life of Malachy. — 'The bishops,' said he, 'are changed and multiplied at the will of the metropolitan, so that one bishopric was not limited to (or content with) one bishop, but almost every church had its own particular bishop.'[r]

"Besides these, the church of Ireland seems to have acknowledged a species of auxiliary bishop, denominated Comorban, Comharbo, or Corbhanus. Some etymologists assert, that this name was synonymous with 'part-

[q] Nennius, Hist. Brit. c. 59.
[r] Vita Malach. apud Messingh. c. 7.

ner,' or 'joint-tenant,' and that he who possessed the office acted during the life of the principal ecclesiastic, to whom he was attached as his suffragan and assistant bishop. The bishops of Armagh had various Comorbans, many of whose names are recorded in Ware's and in Colgan's elaborate works.[s] It is probable that many of the 365 bishops, ordained originally by St. Patrick, were of the order of Comorbans, &c. — at once coadjutors, suffragans, and successors elect to their principals.

"In the same sense of the word, there were Comorban abbots and friars. There was also an order of Comorbans to whom certain free lands, named Termon lands, were allotted by the delivery of a ring from the metropolitan of the see. This kind of comorbanship, though collative, was always made to one of the same sept. Thus, in the year 1406, Hugh Mac Theig was collated to the comorbanship of Re, in the diocese of Derry, by Nicholas Fleming, archbishop of Armagh, after it had been held by John Mac Theig, and prior to him by Augustine Mac Theig, (John's father,) who had been appointed by Milo, archbishop of Armagh, in 1367.[t]

"The episcopal Comorbans were not only coadjutors to their principals whilst living, but were frequently held in high respect, as their appointed successors; and, in this sense of the word, we read of the Comorbans of St. Patrick, Albe, Columba, Fechin, and others.[u]

"The ancient clergy of Ireland were, in a great measure, supported by donations of cattle, &c. from the people[x], but they also possessed some other essential sources of emolument.

[s] Vide Tria Thaum. p. 293. et sequent. Ware, Ant. p. 232.
[t] Reg. Milo. f. 40, a. 42, b. Harris's Ware's Ant. p. 233.
[u] Tria. Thaum. p. 293. et sequent.
[x] Ibid. p. 299.

"In former times the founder of a church was obliged to endow it with certain properties, prior to its consecration by the bishop[x], to whom the disposal of the endowment then belonged. Thus each church had a certain proportion of land, free from temporal impositions[z], and a number of servants appurtenant to the premises.[a] To these lands, which were denominated Erenach and Termon lands, were annexed various important privileges. The Termon grounds became sanctuaries, and were strictly '*territorium ecclesiasticum.*' Thus an ancient synod of Ireland, a remnant of which is in the Cottonian library, says[b], '*Terminus sancti loci habeat signa circa se,*' and the old Bavarian Law, lib. iv. sec. 1. '*Si quis servum ecclesiæ vel ancillam ad fugiendum suaserit et eos foras Terminum duxerit et exinde probatus fuerit revocet cum celeriter.*'[c] These lands were, however, tributary to the church, and not of the nature of some monastic possessions, which were freed from both secular and ecclesiastic claims, and said to have been '*non in fisco non in terra ecclesiastica.*'[d]

"Tenants of Erenach and Termon lands were, *servi ecclesiastici*, managing the grounds for the benefit of the church, as well as of themselves and their families. In ancient times, the founders of abbeys and churches stocked the endowed lands with *septs and races of people*, bound to perform certain services for those to whom they were assigned: and in old grants *men* are classed amongst other property given in Frank Almoigne. Thus,

[x] Concil Braccarens, c. 5.

[z] Concil Cas.

[a] Capitular ab Ansegiso Collect. lib. 1. c. 9. citante Usser. MSS. de orig. Corb. Eren. et Term.

[b] Citante Usser.

[c] Usser MSS.

[d] Centur. chartarum a Goldasto edit. tom. ii. Al. Antiq. charta 90, citante Usser.

Henry II., in a charter ratifying a donation of Earl Strongbow, enumerates *men*, rents, oblations, and tithes amongst the matters granted — '*et omnes res*, (says the deed,) *et possessiones, et homines et reditus in ecclesiis, et oblationibus et decimis, &c.*' — Ecclesiastic servants were of two kinds. The first were *servi ecclesiastici cum onere* — in the nature of villeins; and the second were *liberi* or *coloni ecclesiastici*, who had some disposable property in the premises. To vassals of this kind John Walton, archbishop of Dublin, alludes, in a sequestration of the corbeship of Glendaloch, which he issued in the year 1487, and addressed, '*clericis, vassalis, adscriptitiis et aliis habitatoribus dominii nostri de Glendelache,*' &c.[a] That human beings were transferable and saleable articles, appears manifest from two ancient books of canons, written about nine hundred years ago. One of these is in Bennet college, the other in the Cottonian library; and from these works we learn, that in an ancient synod of Ireland, a bishop's legacy, out of the church, is proportioned by the *price* of a *wife*, or a *maid-servant*.[b]

"The *Corbes* and *Erenachs* were a species of head lords over the *homines ecclesiastici*: for it had been found expedient that each church should have an *economist* to regulate its affairs.[c] The archdiaconi or archpresbyteri originally possessed this office. Hence, in the Irish language, the archdiacons and Erenach bore the same title — Eireinach or Oirchindeach. The Corbes and Erenachs collected the bishops' rents, maintained hospitality, relieved the poor, and entertained travellers and strangers. A fine called *Luach impige* was due to the prelate by the Erenach, on the marriage of any of his daughters.[d]

[a] Ex regist. Arch. Dublin, citante Usser.

[b] These books of canons are quoted by Ussher.

[c] Concil Chalcedon, Can. 26. Concil Nicen. 2 Can. ii.

[d] Usser. de orig. corb. &c.

"It appears that the Erenach belonging to that ancient order of Archidiaconi, who were a degree inferior to the Presbyteri: and not to that higher rank whose members exercised jurisdiction under the bishop. They were admissible, *ad primam tonsuram et diaconatum*, but not promoted *ad presbyterium*.[1] The Corbe was of a higher grade, and stationed in *ecclesiæ matrice*, and in many places had one (or more) Erenach under him. In Latin he was styled *Plebanus*, which seems to have been synonymous with archpresbyter, *coripiscopus*, or rural dean.[2] The Corbes and Erenachs were well educated men, capable of conversing in Latin, and subject to the visitation of the bishop, to whom, on his entrance, they gave a subsidy. They were chargeable, also, with proxies and refections. The Erenachs held their lands by virtue of grants from the bishop, dean and chapter, renewable on the consecration of every new bishop, and first entry of every Erenach. They were bound to manure, cultivate and reside on the Termon lands, which they were prohibited from alienating to a stranger. Their profits were applicable to the maintenance of hospitality, the repair of their respective churches, and to the payment of rent reserved to the see. Some free land called *Honor villæ* remained to themselves. In Ireland, the tithes, and the profits of temporal lands due to the church, seem, as in other parts of Christendom, to have been divisible into four equal portions — one for the bishop — the second for his clergy — the third for repair of sacred edifices — and the fourth for the relief of the poor and of strangers.[3]

[1] Usser. de orig. corb. &c.

[2] Isodori. Moponii. lib. i. de majestate militantis ecclesiæ, p. 1. c. xiii. citante Usser.

[3] See Sir John Davis's Letter to the Earl of Salisbury, &c. Usser. de orig. corb. &c.

"Dr. Ledwich conceives that the term *Corbe* was an opprobrious name given by the Romans, about the twelfth century, to the married clergy of the Irish church, as if they indulged in incest and lewdness. But the word was used by the Irish themselves in an honourable sense. In the Annals of Ulster, the name is written Comhurba or Comorba; and it is recorded that in the year of Christ 858, Imfeathna, Patrick's Corbe, and Imsuarlech Finno, his Corbe, interfered betwixt O'Carrol, king of Ossory, and the king of Tarauge, who were about to enter into hostilities against each other; and O'Carrol was persuaded to yield to St. Patrick's Corbe. So, also, in the year 920, Comghall the Corbe of Moenrach, is styled 'the chief head of all the learning or antiquities of Ireland.'[m]

"In fact the word Comorban is a mere variation of Comharbha, a coadjutor, copartner and successor. Corba, is evidently an abbreviation of *Cobh-orba* tribute land; and the Corbe was the manager of such property."[n] The term Erenach is derived from *Er*, noble, and *einach*, generosity; for it was a part of the Erenach's duty to relieve the poor and entertain strangers. Hence, also, it was synonymous with *archeanuach*, an archdeacon. Termon is clearly the same as the Irish word Tearmon or Tarmon, a limit, sanctuary, or resource; and *Luach impighe*, or more properly *impidhe*, is 'the price of the petition.'[o]

[m] Annals of Ulster. Usser. de orig. Corb.

[n] Comhorban is compounded of *comh*, a ward, protector, or preserver, and *orban*, a patrimony. Hence Comhorban signified a successor, that is, the ward of a certain patrimony.—*Collect. de rebus Hib. num.* ii. p. 127.

[o] This petition was, we presume, presented to the bishop on the marriage of the Erenach's daughter. The fine was paid so late as the seventeenth century, when it was received by the bishop of Kilmore, as we are informed by Ussher.

"St. Patrick seems to have been vested by Pope Celestine with an ample discretionary authority to regulate the ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland, *pro re nata*. Yet, in the establishment of 365 bishops in the course of his long and laborious mission, which lasted above sixty-one years, he acted in perfect accordance with the practice of the church. In the fourth and fifth centuries, Christian prelates were more numerous than in subsequent periods. Thus we find that the council of Sardis, in the year 374, determined 'that no bishop shall be consecrated for a village where a presbyter shall suffice; but a bishop may be appointed over a city, or to superintend presbyters.'

"The church of Ireland was perfectly distinct from that established in Great Britain. It is indeed certain, that after the settlement of the Danes in this country, the Ostman bishops of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, were consecrated at Canterbury, and acknowledged the primatial right of that see; and the practice was continued till the twelfth century.[p] This example, however, was not imitated by the other prelates of Ireland, but rejected as derogatory to the honour and independence of the national religion. We find that when the archbishop of Canterbury wished to usurp a more extended authority in the Irish church, he was openly resisted by the see of Armagh, and its suffragan prelates. Thus a letter addressed to him in the year 1122, by the clergy and burgesses of Dublin, contains the following remarkable expressions:—'*Sciatis vos revera, quod Episcopi Hibernie maximum zelum erga nos habent et maxime Ille Episcopus qui habitat Ardmachæ quia nolumus obedire eorum ordinationi, sed semper sub vestro dominio esse volumus*'—'Truly you ought to

[p] Ware's Bishops, p. 512.

know, that the bishops of Ireland, and particularly the prelate who resides at Armagh, are exceedingly angry with us, because we are unwilling to submit to their ordination, but still wish to be under your authority.'[q] Thus it is manifest that the Irish hierarchy, under its chief prelate, Celsus of Armagh, felt indignant at the interference of a foreign bishop in their ecclesiastical concerns.

"After the decease of the Irish apostle, ecclesiastical dignities were soon monopolized by certain princely families, and transmitted in the same septs from generation to generation. Even in Armagh, the primatial right seems to have been converted into a kind of property, by a particular branch of the Hi Nial race, which was probably sprung from Daire, the donor of Druimsaillech, to the founder of the see. St. Bernard reprobates this practice in very vehement terms. He styles it 'an execrable succession,' and affirms that prior to the primacy of Celsus, the see had been thus held by fifteen successive generations. — '*Verum*,' says he, '*mos pessimus inoleverat quorundam diabolica ambitione potentum sedem sanctam obtentum iri hereditaria successione. Nec enim patiebantur Episcopari, nisi qui essent de tribu et familia sua. Nec parum processerat* EXECRANDA SUCCESSIO *decursis jam hac malitia quasi generationibus quindecim et eo usque firmaverat sibi jus pravum imo omni morte puniendam injuriam generatio mala et adultera, ut etsi interdum defecissent clerici de sanguine illo, sed Episcopi nunquam.*'[r]

"We have already seen that some other dignities, offices, and employments in the Irish church, were limited to certain septs. Thus, in the election of an Erenach, the bishop and his clergy were limited in their

[q] Vet. Epist. Hib. Syl. p. 100.

[r] Sanct. Bern. Vita Mal. apud Mess. c. vii. p. 358.

choice to the members of a particular clan, until it became extinct, when they were at liberty to nominate another in its place.

"Another characteristic of the Irish church, as it existed for a long period of time, prior to the days of Malachy Morgair, is to be found in the marriage of its clergy *, a circumstance which is mentioned by St. Bernard in terms of the strongest reprobation. He calls the married hereditary archbishops of Armagh a wicked and adulterous race, and bitterly complains that, before Celsus, 'eight of them had been married men and unordained, though literate.'[s] In forming matrimonial connections, which was a manifest departure from the regulations and established customs of the Roman see, the whole clergy of Ireland seem to have imitated the example of their bishops. In a very ancient Irish canon it is decreed, 'that the wife of any clergyman who does not wear a veil when she goes abroad, shall be separated from the church.'[t] In the twelfth century, Pope Innocent III. directed John Salernitan, his legate in Ireland, to have the practice abolished by which sons and grandsons were accustomed to succeed their fathers and grandfathers in ecclesiastic benefices."[u] — *Stuart's Armagh.*

[s] Vita Mal. ut supra, p. 359.

[t] This is quoted by Ussher and Ware, from a manuscript book of canons in Bennet's college, Cambridge.

[u] Alph. Ciac. Vit. Pont.

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* The marriage of the clergy of the ancient church of Ireland, is a proof, which concurs with the mode of celebrating Easter, and a great number of other facts, to establish the point, of which there can now be little doubt, that the ancient Irish church was, long before St. Patrick, in connection with the churches of Asia, and derived originally from that source. In the Greek, Armenian, and all the Asiatic churches, the secular clergy have always been, and still are, married men; but a second marriage is not permitted.

No. VII.

ADRIAN'S BULL.

"ADRIAN, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his dearest son in Christ, the illustrious king of England, greeting, and apostolic benediction.

"Full laudably and profitably hath your magnificence conceived the design of propagating your glorious renown on earth, and completing your reward of eternal happiness in heaven; while, as a Catholic prince, you are intent on enlarging the borders of the church, teaching the truth of the Christian faith to the ignorant and rude, exterminating the roots of vice from the field of the Lord, and, for the more convenient execution of this purpose, requiring the counsel and favour of the apostolic see. In which, the maturer your deliberation, and the greater the discretion of your procedure, by so much the happier, we trust, will be your progress, with the assistance of the Lord; as all things are used to come to a prosperous end and issue, which take their beginning from the ardour of faith and the love of religion.

"There is indeed no doubt but that Ireland, and all the islands on which Christ the Sun of Righteousness hath shone, and which have received the doctrines of the Christian faith, do belong to the jurisdiction of St. Peter and of the holy Roman church, as your excellency also doth acknowledge. And therefore we are the more solicitous to propagate the righteous plantation of faith in this land, and the branch acceptable to God, as we have the secret conviction of conscience that this is more especially our bounden duty.

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